

PhD THESIS

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**London's traditional markets, managing change and conflict in  
complex urban spaces**

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PhD in Planning





## Declaration

I, Sang Hee Kim, confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.



## Abstract

With the continual change in the everyday life and operation of London's traditional markets, this thesis explores the dynamic relationship between market use, management, and physicality, in order to understand these complex urban public spaces, and how practices of market management can help to enhance and safeguard the diversity of London's markets as public places of social experience and meaning. The theoretical research consisted of a review of the academic literature on public space and traditional markets using a multi-dimensional, and inter-disciplinary approach, and the empirical research involved both a typological analysis of the traditional markets in inner London's 13 boroughs, and then an in-depth case study investigation of two of these inner London markets. This was undertaken to answer the research question of how to ensure the economic viability and social vitality of inner London's traditional markets, and respond to the challenges, tensions and opportunities presented in these complex inner city environments.

London's markets need to adapt to survive because urban public spaces are continually evolving. The typological analysis of inner London's traditional markets and the case studies of the declining Petticoat Lane street market and the thriving Borough Market highlight the role of management in maintaining the markets as viable economic and social public spaces for all. Along with a strategic plan based on a vision emphasising the social and economic value of markets to their local communities, a partnership approach is key for effective and responsive micro-management. A balance between economic viability and social vitality for public spaces serving the socio-economically diverse local communities in inner London can be achieved through managing on-going tensions over time.

## Preface

This study started in 2003 from my personal encounters with London's traditional markets. I felt that they were authentic but also exotic, diverse, full of surprise and lively. Crowded roads became vibrant public places packed with people and market stalls. People naturally felt or appeared to be comfortable in this public space. They have been there for a long time and are clearly a symbol of the city's history. It is difficult to define markets but they have their own distinctive way of using public space. These unforgettable impressions inspired me to explore this unique urban environment.

Initially my main interests were drawn to the vibrant atmosphere of the market as public space and its flexibility in use. I thought those characteristics could be a useful answer to common challenges which a dynamic but congested and busy city like London faces. In this way the study follows in the footsteps of in-depth studies on the relationship between activities and public space such as those of Jane Jacobs, William Whyte and Kevin Lynch.

Markets are public spaces not only for selling and buying but also with vibrant social character stemming from the range of free activities which happen in market sites. They are historic spaces with a strong place identity for the community that has evolved over time. But to survive in a large city like London, markets also need to be managed as their diverse and versatile forms share space and time with all the other city activities, and this creates opportunities and tensions. How this is done in a manner that is sensitive to their social role and physical qualities provide the key focus for this research.

By 2005 when I started this study, London's traditional markets were facing a harsh reality. Some of them were on the verge of extinction due to the emerging threat of large scale super stores, booming online shopping, and rapid regeneration swooping through the fringe areas of the City of London. This huge shift impacted mostly on the inner London markets, some of which had relied on the patronage from their minority ethnic communities nearby, many of whom had now been displaced from inner London. Changes to markets were deemed inevitable and after nearly a decade of research these changes and their implications have been observed, confirmed and evaluated.

It is undeniable that the social character of many markets attracts people to stay longer in cities, enjoying the atmosphere that sustains markets as successful public spaces. Therefore, in the context of the shifting relationship between use and space in markets today, the research confirms that the management approaches adopted to these complex urban spaces will be

critical to ensure their long-term on-going success. In this respect there is also no doubt that London's markets can provide useful lessons - good and bad - about how to manage such spaces in the increasingly commercialised and consumer-oriented cities of this global world.

My research journey ended in a lengthy research process that nevertheless provided the opportunity to see the changing relationship between use, management and physicality over time in two of inner London's traditional markets. Reflecting this journey and the increasingly apparent importance of market management, the four initial broad research questions were gradually distilled into one which focused on the importance and nature of market management in driving long-term success. Once focused on management and its inter-relationships with use and physicality, the research was able to better focus its analysis and discussion and advance a range of critical conclusions for the management of markets in London that it is hoped will help to ensure the long-term economic viability and social vitality of traditional street markets in a manner that better deals with the inevitable change and conflict in these complex urban spaces.

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chapter

# 1

I n t r o d u c t i o n

# 1 Introduction

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## 1.1 Introduction and Research background

London has more than 100 traditional markets<sup>1</sup>, and in recent years, the changing nature of these markets has increasingly become apparent. Within their rapidly changing urban environments, these markets need to adapt to survive.

Rising rents, the march of City office developments, the gentrification of the area and changing shopping habits are threatening the markets. Unless action is taken now, in a few years only a few gourmet (and specialist) markets aimed at the affluent minority will remain.

Dee Doocey,<sup>1</sup>

Chair of Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee

London Assembly (The Guardian, February 2008).

Today, London's markets are seemingly more diverse than ever before: some are vital streets of bright colourful clothes, strong smells of food or the sound of music, chatting and loud greetings, all set within an historic context. Many markets are ethnically diverse, given character by local Africans, Indians, East Asians, and Chinese as well as by the native English and international tourists. However, some markets are fast diminishing or have disappeared with seemingly little prospect of re-birth. The markets that seem likely to survive are those that are embracing change, and taking on new uses such as farmers' markets, or those selling antiques and crafts. Some new markets are springing up in privately-owned spaces such as shopping malls, or in parks, schoolyards or parking lots.

London's markets are spaces that satisfy diverse needs for economic exchange, consumption, and social connection, and they facilitate unexpected encounters among a wide range of users of differing socio-economic status and cultures. Market users are free to choose whether to

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<sup>1</sup> There is no single, agreed definition of the term 'traditional markets' so for the purposes of this study they will include all publicly accessible retail markets such as street markets like Petticoat Lane, covered outdoor markets like Borough Market, indoor markets like Old Spitalfields market, outdoor markets on private land like Camden Market, and markets on borrowed, non-market spaces such as in parks or school playgrounds or similar spaces that are not normally used for market purposes.

<sup>2</sup> Lead author of the report 'London's street market' (the Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee, 2010)

retreat from or embrace these routine encounters, depending on the feeling of comfort and pleasure that they derive from the social atmosphere and intimate interactions on offer. From such encounters and the wider social experiences, social value is created through a sense of belonging and attachment that supports community cohesion and social wellbeing.

Therefore, London's markets are complex urban public environments that have evolved through the changes in their urban context. Gentrification, in particular, introduces new users whose socio-cultural lifestyles include an increased preference for consumption. Under these circumstances, experiential attributes of use suggest London's markets are good environments for commerce, consumption, and social interaction through the routine practices of everyday life.

Figure 1-1. | Petticoat Lane and Borough Market as historic markets in inner London



### History of London's Markets

Historically, London's markets have been driven by economic demand and supply, related to the convenience of collecting, selling, and distributing produce. London's early markets, including Westcheap(or Cheapside) and Eastcheap, were located in streets near the River Thames waterfront, on the wharves along its bank, and within the City walls. Market fairs were held on religious or pagan holidays. Since the Middle Ages, the open-air retail markets, Westcheap and Eastcheap, supplied goods and produce to a small population. The population

growth of London increased the number and size of its markets. Meanwhile, the Great Fire of 1666 caused substantial damage to the existing markets, which created the opportunity to construct new markets with improved safety and accessibility for users. Markets continued to develop in size and number ever since then, and, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the advent of the railways contributed to the development of new markets, allowing foodstuffs to be brought into London from all parts of the country (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shipley & Peplow, 1987; Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983). The development of the railways brought wholesale markets to locations around the railway stations, and buildings or structures to accommodate the wholesale produce were specially designed and developed covered markets (Harriss, 2006). Indoor and covered market buildings such as Billingsgate and Smithfield eventually became out-dated and were modernised in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983).

As well as the growth in London's population and the innovations in transport technology, social change is another critical driving force affecting London's markets. These markets served and developed along with their diverse groups of users of differing classes and socio-economic status. Over time, due to the increase in population, London's markets expanded beyond the medieval city walls, and new daily markets serving low-income people were thriving in the Victorian era (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shipley & Peplow, 1987; Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983). Furthermore, international migration to the city has increased more than outflow since 1994 (Office for National Statistics, 2000), with workers coming from Commonwealth countries, primarily the Caribbean before 1974 and Asian countries afterwards (Biankchini, 2004). The multi-ethnicity of London has characterised the development and evolution of London's markets (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983). Many street markets cater to low-income groups, ethnic minorities and immigrants (Harriss, 2006; Shipley & Peplow, 1987; Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983), while the 'upper classes' favour specialist markets selling antiques, crafts or farmers' produce which became very popular in the 1960s and 1970s (Cooper, 1974).

Moreover, socio-economic changes in the formal retail sector on the high street, with the introduction on a large scale of supermarkets and shopping malls, were driving forces affecting London's traditional markets that brought vigorous competition. The formal retail sector, which offers quality products at competitive prices with effective distribution systems and modern payment methods, has been the most significant factor in the decline of traditional markets especially since the economic downturn in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shipley & Peplow, 1987; Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983).



As the quote at the beginning of the Introduction suggests, the phenomena of rising rents, gentrification, and changing shopping habits together have affected London's traditional markets and is also connected to the growing interest in the policies and practices of public space use and management, and reflects an increasingly large and diverse range of literature on public space, much reflecting wider discussions on the experience of, and discourses on, the public sphere, and the very concept of public life. The conflation of three aspects of urban change - the reality of London's changing markets, the new focus on public space use and management, and the increasing concern about the quality of civic life in the public realm, offered a rich context for study and inspired the research on which this thesis is based.

In this study, the complexity of London's markets arising from the dynamic relationship between their uses and activities, their management, and their physicality (their physical form and urban context), was explored using an holistic research approach. Furthermore, public space uses which generate subjective experiences were explored using a qualitative research methodology. This method of inquiry into how the world is constructed using different theories for understanding and describing it focuses on public space users' interactions and experiences. The research is undertaken through 'descriptive analysis searching for patterns' and 'theoretical analysis' by 'classification as the search for meaning in the patterns' (Flick, 2007, p.6). This study illustrated the complexity of London's traditional markets through theorisation and spatial analyses as part of the holistic research approach (Table 4A, p.103).

## 1.2 Research question, objectives and methodology

With the continual change in the everyday life, purpose, character and operation of London's traditional markets, this thesis explores the dynamic relationship between market use, management, and physicality, in order to understand the nature and impact of urban and societal changes on the use and experience of these public spaces, and how practices of market management can help to enhance and safeguard the diversity of London's markets as public places of social experience and meaning.

The main question for this research study is:

How does market management ensure the economic viability and social vitality of inner London's traditional markets, and respond to the challenges, tensions and opportunities presented in such complex inner city environments?

To answer this research question, the objectives of the research focus on an investigation of two areas - understanding the complex urban public environments of London's traditional

markets, and investigating current market management practices that aim to ensure an optimal balance between economic viability and social vitality in these urban public spaces. Each has sub-objectives as follows:

1. Understanding the complex urban public environments of London's traditional markets

1-1. to understand the characteristics of public life in public space and the role and contribution of London's traditional markets to the vitality of public life

1-2. to investigate new retail shopping trends and gentrification as challenges for inner London's existing traditional markets

1-3. to identify and critically assess the public space and market management policies in the UK

1-4. to identify and critically assess the urban design dimensions of public space as they relate to traditional markets, including the management dimension

1-5. to develop a conceptual framework for the empirical research and the analysis of the findings, providing a structure for the fieldwork investigation

2. Investigating current market management practices that aim to ensure an optimal balance between economic viability and social vitality in these traditional markets as key urban public spaces

2-1. to explore the general characteristics of inner London's traditional markets today, how they have evolved over time, and the role of management in their evolution

2-2. to observe how London's traditional markets are used and by whom, by monitoring and evaluating their use, and the role of management in daily market life

The activities in the market and the ways in which the market operates are seen to be indications of the success of the current management regime. Furthermore, much in the way Lynch said that public space cannot be assessed by looking at the physical space, only by looking at the way people use it, the markets will be observed in an effort to assess how they are used, and how well they appear to work, as an indication of the effectiveness of the market environment.

2-3. to identify how management practices best respond to the tensions and the opportunities regarding social vitality and economic viability including the motivations and attitudes of management, the maintenance regimes, the success of the enhancements made to the market

environments, programming of market activities, and the relationship with stakeholders, to establish some best practice and recommendations

In order to address the research question and objectives, this study uses a qualitative research methodology. Table 4A (p. 103) shows how the research objectives are related to the methodology. First, a comprehensive literature review explores the sociological concepts related to public space and public life and the role of traditional markets, and then there is a review of the public space management policies in the UK as they affect traditional markets. The literature review continues with an overview of the urban design discussions related to public space and traditional markets, examining the concepts in the social, physical, temporal, and management dimensions of public space. From this comprehensive literature review, a conceptual framework was developed.

Second, a typological analysis of London's markets and subsequent in-depth case study analysis of two of these markets in inner London are used in order to fully understand the character of these complex urban environments and the nature of their management. A range of spatial analyses is utilised to explore the relationship between use, management and physicality. Multiple research methods are employed including morphological and mapping analyses of the market environments using secondary sources [desk-based research], direct fieldwork observation of the markets in use within their public spaces, and semi-structured interviews with key actors, with the results being discussed through the lens of the conceptual framework developed from the literature review.

Much recent writing and policies on public space address the concept of the social construction of public space with regard to the values and meanings ascribed to it which are never fixed but vary over time. This study supports this theoretical and practical perspective. The holistic approach in the literature review implies an inter-disciplinary perspective dealing with the combined aspects of the market experience, its operation, meaning and impact. This approach provides multiple research methods and analytical strategies to explore the generic character of London's markets and their management.

The empirical research in this study consists of a typological analysis and case studies. The purpose of the typological analysis is to establish the generic character of a market's use, its users and management in terms of the socio-economic and political contexts of the market's location. The case studies aim to provide in-depth analyses of daily activities and management responses in the micro-spaces of these traditional markets. The complex environments were analysed from the patterns identified in the descriptive data from the typological analysis and

case studies, using a comparative technique while also referring back to the concepts and findings from the literature review.

### 1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is described as follows. Chapter 2 contains a literature review exploring the nature and character of public space and public life, along with a review of the public space management policies in the UK and London, particularly those that affect traditional urban public markets. In Chapter 3, there is a review of the urban design dimensions of public space as related to London's traditional markets, referring to the social, physical, temporal, and management dimensions. This includes an examination of the various actors involved in, and issues arising out of, a market's daily activities, operation and meaning in each dimension. Issues such as users' needs and the impact of management on the public life of the market are reviewed in the social dimension; the use of, and the activities that take place within the market, its urban setting and physicality are reviewed in the physical dimension; the times and frequency of market operation, adaptability of the market and its operations, relating to its patterns of use, are examined in the temporal dimension; and issues concerning the management practices and strategies in London's markets are examined in the management dimension. This chapter then provides the conceptual framework for the research, and relates this to the concepts and the research methodology.

Chapter 4 addresses the research methodology and the approach to theorising, collecting and analysing data. Section 4.2 reviews the reasons for the selection of a qualitative and holistic approach for the research which aims to understand the complexity of London's markets, reflecting on the relationship between use, management and physicality. Section 4.3 reviews the scope of the research which is focused initially on traditional markets in London and then on two case study markets in inner London, each representing a different market management model while also being different in their future prospects - one market is thriving and the other is not. Section 4.4 outlines the research methods used in the literature review; Section 4.5 outlines the research methods for the typological analysis; and Section 4.6 outlines the research methods for the case studies, describing the rationale behind the selection of the two case study markets and the strategy for in-depth analysis of use and experience in the micro-spaces of the two markets, as well as the multiple methods used for collecting data such as observations, photographic and time-movement studies, and semi-structured interviews with the public space users and market managers. Section 4.7 discusses the limitations of the

research, based on time and resources, and the inevitable restrictions on obtaining interviews with all the key actors.

Chapter 5 presents the typological analysis of the 102 traditional markets in London in operation during the period of the research, with the aim of classifying these markets, using the four key criteria of location and form, types of products sold, times of operations, and market management structure. From this analysis, the two case study markets were selected. Section 5.2 focuses on a morphological analysis of the markets in terms of types of location and context, times of operation, and goods and produce on offer, and relates them to the typology according to the location of the market on a street, whether covered, outdoor, indoor, or on a borrowed site. Section 5.3 presents an historical overview of London's markets to assess the impact of historical change on their use and users, and their meaning for their local communities. There is a change in the types of markets with specialist markets contributing to a decline in the general street market, as more affluent users have a preference for higher quality goods. Section 5.4 focuses on change relating to users and socio-cultural demographics reflecting the local socio-economic contexts. London's markets are experiencing a gentrification of their own, as they struggle to adapt to new, more affluent users who demand non-traditional types of market goods that are based around optional rather than necessary shopping requirements.

Chapter 6 presents the background review of the two case study areas in inner London, providing detailed information of the physical, social and political contexts. Chapter 7 and 8 present the findings of the empirical fieldwork research in 2008 and 2009, with a focus specifically on the daily activities taking place in the two case study markets and their market management - Petticoat Lane in chapter 7 and Borough Market in chapter 8. The temporal patterns of activity in the market spaces will be studied to observe the character of use and the patterns of usage. The management practices of the markets are reviewed, illustrating the different management arrangements, with the local authority in one instance and the local community organisation in the other, with an informal or formal approach to partnership. The perceptions and views about the use, market management and physicality of the markets held by users and managers are also sought.

Chapter 9 presents a discussion and analysis of the research findings, drawing conclusions from all the theoretical and empirical fieldwork research. Section 9.2 discusses the results of the typological analysis with commentary on the dominant market type and the trends in market goods being sold. The impact of local policies on markets and the changing demographics in local areas are also analysed. The impact of the findings for each of the case

study markets are reviewed in Sections 9.3 for Petticoat Lane, and 9.4 for Borough Market, with a consideration of the strategic and practical issues of management. Since the research was carried out over an extended time period, an update on the markets has been added in Sections 9.3 and 9.4 in light of changes to both the national and local contexts of the two markets. Section 9.5 provides a comparison of the markets which is useful in establishing the different types of challenges that they face, and the impact of a different market management structure on performance. Section 9.6 revisits the key concepts from the literature review to assess their usefulness in guiding the research, and in the development of the conceptual framework based on the relationship between use, management and physicality.

Chapter 10 provides a conclusion for the research study. Section 10.2 provides recommendations for the way forward for traditional markets amidst the many challenges facing them. At this stage, Section 10.3 revisits the research question to establish how the study has provided answers and a sense of the way forward for London's markets. Section 10.4 provides a reflection on the research process and outcomes, including a critical assessment of the research journey. Section 10.5 focuses on the originality of the research and the contribution that the study makes in the field of management of traditional markets in urban centres as these are complex environments creating many challenges for existing public space uses and users. In section 10.6, there are also suggestions on the best direction for future research in this area.

chapter

# 2

L i t e r a t u r e   R e v i e w

## 2 Traditional Markets and Public Space in the 21st Century

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### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the academic and government policy literature on key concepts and issues concerning public space and the nature of the publics that inhabit and use it. Traditional markets, as a once vital part of the activities housed in the public realm, still contribute to the vibrant public life of cities. By exploring the fundamental theoretical issues related to the use of public space, a foundation for this empirical investigation of traditional markets in inner London will be established.

Then, there is a discussion of the two most significant threats to traditional markets. The first is a general threat to the entire retail sector in the form of online digital consumerism. The second comes from the gentrification of neighbourhoods which changes the nature of a market's user groups and therefore the types of products offered. Finally, the chapter will focus on the role of management as a key aspect of public space policy in the UK which directly affects markets. From the concepts, it will be established that management is a mechanism through which to ensure that the ideals for public space are translated into realities in the use of this space. The conclusions will review the impact of these issues on London's traditional markets, their on-going relevance, and their need to adapt to a rapidly changing urban environment.

### 2.2 Public Space and Traditional Markets

#### 2.2.1 Who is 'the public' that traditional markets serve?

The definition of 'public' is broad, ranging from everyone to the political definition of citizens (Madanipour, 1999), but it is contextualised by referring to the 'dominant groups' that exist in different societies at different times in history, such as the aristocracy in the middle ages and the middle class in the 20th century (Sennett, 1977). Habermas (1976)'s civil society consisted of social groups which were diverse, and from differing socio-economic classes, and a 'communicative public realm' where the bourgeoisie presented, exchanged and negotiated their opinions with others. Despite the importance of people's right to freely use the civic



realm, the concept has been challenged by the idea of 'community of difference' in the sense that the civic space is an 'institution of the public sphere' that the bourgeoisie had appropriated as a dominant group.

The concept of 'community of difference' relies on the notion of the city as a space for the meeting of strangers in a variety of social contexts and situations (Young, 1990). Community encompasses 'changing' and 'integrated' users, highlighting the 'difference of people in class, age, gender, and ethnicity, both city dwellers and visitors' (Jacobs, 1992; 1998). Fraser's (1990) idea also pointed out the difference in the concept of the public.

'The concept that Nancy Fraser coined of 'multiple publics' becomes therefore key to understanding the contemporary multi-ethnic city. When we think of the control of the public, we must ask 'Which public?' while when we discuss the creation of a public place for the public, we must ask 'What kind of public? and 'Who defines the public? ... It is held that more inclusive and more democratic public places help a city's social cohesiveness, which in turn contributes to its sustainability' (Varna, 2014, Introduction, p.2).

London's markets and their diverse user groups represent a community of difference. Watson and Studdert (2006) also pointed out that markets in the UK are public spaces serving diverse user groups from their wider local community.

### 2.2.2 What is public space

The concepts of 'civil society' and 'civic space' as space for all people, referred to the characteristics of public life in bourgeois society in the 19th century (Habermas, 1976). However, public spaces are continually changing. Whereas physical space was not the focus in Habermas', Young's and Fraser' notions of the public sphere, Massey et al. (1999), Jacobs (1992; 1998) and Watson (2006) spatialized the concepts of the public, by asking who are the main users of public space. They focused on the process of taking and retaking public space over time from the perspective of marginal social groups, especially women (Massey et al., 1999); ethnic groups (Watson, 2006); and city dwellers (Jacobs, 1992; 1998). Therefore, public spaces accommodate changing groups of users within their urban contexts, and these local spaces are enlivened by encounters and different ways of living and using public space (Massey et al., 1999). The concept of 'community of difference', where strangers interact in an atmosphere of tolerance, is relevant here.

The definition of public space broadly relates to all those parts of the built and natural environment where the public have free access, such as 'all types of space between buildings in cities' (Krier, 1984, p. 7). Ownership was another factor related to public space types. Public space then encompasses public and private, internal and external space, accessible to the public. It ranges from 'privately owned but publicly used traditional foot ways and modern atrium, to publicly built administrative institutions, to open recreational parks' (Scruton, 1984, p. 23).

Urban public space is 'all the collective space in the cities' (Madanipour, 1999, p. 881). Carmona et al. (2004, p. 10) defined public space in the UK as 'all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic use; the open spaces and parks; the open countryside; the 'public/private' spaces, both internal and external, where public access is welcomed – if controlled – such as private shopping centres or rail and bus stations; and the interiors of key public and civic buildings such as libraries, churches, or town halls'.

Ruppert (2006) argues that, in contemporary western society specifically, public space is determined more by access than ownership. Furthermore, the control of this space which is determined by laws, both national and local, sets the regulatory regime which guarantees people's rights to access and use of the space. Varna (2014) reconfirmed that publicness is set in historic and cultural reality. The publicness is culturally determined and is a western concept arising from Habermas (1976)'s idea of the public sphere.

Carr et al. (1992) defines public space by referring to several characteristics - comfort, relevance, meaning and stimulation.

- Public space must be 'comfortable enough to allow an experience within it to occur' (Carr et al., 1992, p.190).
- The 'relevance' of public space is one characteristic that is important: 'Relevance operates on several levels. At the level of individual users, a place must satisfy needs. ... At the level of a culture, a site must be congruent with cultural norms and practices' (Carr et al., 1992, p.190).
- Social meanings and connections are also important for successful public spaces, as are its physical qualities.

'Physical connections are based on the degree to which the location, design, resources, and arrangement of a place are reflective of the surrounding area, that is the site and its context.

... Clearly this type of connection does not exist apart from the people in an area, for it is their judgement that defines the significance of the site and its relationship with their larger environment'(Carr et al., 1992, p.190).

- Public spaces must generate a positive meaning. '... by positive connections to people, connections that create a sense of belonging, of safety, a feeling that personal rights must be protected' (Carr et al., 1992, p.190).
- These spaces or places create positive meaning by the satisfying experiences that the user has when visiting or inhabiting them. Some spaces create negative meaning for some people who are discouraged from using them as they do not fit into the profile of 'acceptable' users (Carr, 1992, p.190).
- A public space's connection to its users can be created on many levels that involve a shared culture, background, socio-economic status, shared experiences of the area, and/or the events that have shaped and affected it. 'The ability to claim and change a space also can encourage the development of connections, something that researchers on neighbourhood participation have been saying for some time' (Carr et al., 1992, p.191).

Markets have generally had to negotiate this challenging territory, of providing meaning and relevance to a diverse set of user groups.

'A central question is whether people are free to achieve the types of experiences they desire in public spaces. The rights to use a public space and have a sense of control within it are basic and overarching requirements. ... Spatial rights involve freedom of use, most simply, the feeling that it is possible to use the space in a way that draws on its resources and satisfies personal needs' (Carr et al., 1992, p.137).

One of the key themes related to open access for people's rights is behaviour control. In terms of people's right to be in and use public space, a balance must be achieved between informal and formal uses. People's conduct in public space is regulated to achieve a balance between formality by public order and informality (Goffman, 1963, p.199). The range of informal yet acceptable behaviours is determined by the judgement of the dominant group which regulates conduct in public space. Goffman (1963) insisted that no absolute form of acceptable behaviour exists, and the balance is a temporary one depending on the situation. Lawson (2001) confirmed that the acceptable range of behaviour is established according to 'cultural rules' governing their acceptability in public space, reflecting people's deep-seated needs.

Ruppert (2006) supported that with management because it is shaping acceptable behaviour within regulatory regime including regulations, policing and urban design.

Reflecting on the concept of 'fit' as one of the important factors for a good environment or quality of public space, what constitutes a match or fit changes over time with the arrival of new activities. Mismatches suggest tensions over shifting situations but also opportunities from a new use that reflects a change in society (Lynch, 1981, p.150-152). With regard to public life in cities, driven by social, cultural, physical, economic and political forces, Carr et al. (1992) suggested the processes to appropriate space for use, and insisted that changes in context can create both opportunities and tensions requiring a balance to be negotiated between uses and rights. The role of management to uphold people's uses, needs and rights to public space is an essential requirement in shaping successful public space.

Regarding these definitions and essential qualities of public space, traditional markets are public places where people can mingle casually as they are seen as places of both purpose (to shop) and leisure (to relax, observe and enjoy). They are public spaces serving people's needs. Watson and Studdert (2006, p.1) define markets as sites of commerce as well as sites of social interaction. Some of London's markets are public spaces which have survived since medieval times. Market use is therefore a legitimate function in the public realm, governed by laws or regulations from government or owners, and cultural customs.

### 2.2.3 What characterises public life in public space?

Public space in cities has been studied in order to understand how people live together and engage with others (Madanipour, 2001; Carr et al., 1992). Brill (1989) and Sennett (1977) argued that contemporary public spaces are where a lack of intimacy has become predominant, with passive observation between strangers replacing intimate relationships between members of a community. However, despite the less personal and more transient relationships between individuals and groups, described as the 'tyranny of intimacy' (Sennett, 1977, p. 337), actual public life in urban public spaces still permits meaningful social encounters and experiences.

Particularly encounters with strangers are a characteristic of social experience in urban public space, generating diverse types of social interaction. Most distinctively, Sennett (1977, p. 27) pointed out that personality is shaped by social experience through '... involuntary discourse of character, superimposition of public and private image, defence through withdrawal, and

silence'. Free choice of retreat or social engagement with others in urban public space connect individuals to a small group or a wider community in cities.

For the social engagement, individuals' psychological need for distance from others' intimate observations should be met, although observations of others prevail in urban public space. Furthermore, people need specific public spaces to gather for social interaction, as they are more sociable when they have 'tangible barriers between them' (Sennett, 1977, p. 15). The free choice of retreat from, or engagement in routine encounters, and acquisition of space for privacy or private life are critical to social interaction. The encounters are seeds of social relationships and diverse levels of social engagement are generated according to the individuals' situations (Sennett, 1977). The frequency or level of encounters determines the forms of public life (Dines et al., 2006; Carr et al., 1992; Goffman, 1963).

In this sense, markets are public space for intimate social relationships especially between traders and shoppers. When the markets can provide public social space for gathering, and satisfy their psychological needs for comfort, an individual's subjective preferences and feelings then determine their preference for regular encounters, developing diverse levels of social interaction. The markets of the UK sustain different types of social experiences from social interaction to social ties, social mixing and social inclusion (Watson and Studdert, 2006).

Watson (2006, p.70-71) discusses the changing nature of public space, especially regarding the presence of marginal social groups and their preferences, and proposes a 'remaking public'. The temporary shifting state of public life allows for fluidity in the concept of co-existence of 'difference' in users groups. She refers to the process of 'collaborations', 'contestations' and 'self-segregation' amid the flow of encounters with strangers, which recalls Young (1990)'s communities of difference.

However, in public space, social exclusion may be a critical issue. In the US, Mitchell (1995) examined the exclusion of homeless people, and insisted that the type of public in a space is determined when a certain group appropriates the space and through their actions determines who is allowed to use it. Madanipour (2010) investigated the exclusion of people in a European context. Ethnic people gathering in public spaces were ignored while exclusionary public space only seems to allow dominant groups, which leads to stratified space and perhaps self-segregation. In the case of markets in the UK, conflicts over the use of public space by ethnic groups were not identified (Watson and Studdert, 2006), although some markets in decline were branded as being dominated by a certain ethnic group and therefore perceived as unsafe space by others (Watson, 2005).

## Traditional markets and the Practices of Everyday Life

Traditional markets are spaces for everyday life. Regarding the spatial practices of everyday life, De Certeau (1984) suggested that activities are narratives that have a story with a beginning and an end according to spatial order. Walking through a public space which is a field of activities allows mapping of this narrative activity. This can reveal conflict over uses, reflecting socio-cultural differences as deviation that 'falls outside place regulated' (De Certeau, 1984).

Spatial practices in everyday life are activities taking place between regulations as 'strategy' and users' behaviour in a public space (De Certeau, 1984, p.118-130). The regulatory process is the system of rules developed by society or the 'way of making' revealing the power relationship between political, economic and social forces. However, space 'constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places' (De Certeau, 1984, p.118) because users' behaviour is omitting, displacing, adding and changing the boundaries of place. Additionally, places are made into spaces by virtue of the movement through them and the activities which animate them, most of which are controlled by everyday users.

Traditional markets are now regulated public spaces, but they are affected by users' activities that might appropriate the space for their specific purpose or shape the space so that it functions more in line with their preferences. Market management straddles the boundary between strategy and tactics in that regulations must be enforced but users preferences must also be addressed to create a vital social space.

### 2.2.4 Public good

A public good can be defined using a political philosophy perspective as something that is owned by a democratic society and maintained for use by everyone. Traditional public goods are fresh water, clean air, and access to public, or commonly owned, land. Kallhoff in her book *Why Democracy needs Public Goods* states that '... public goods support social justice and the sense of effective equality among citizens and - among other effects - thereby also provide a necessary background for the public forum' (Kallhoff, 2011, p.2).

In the political philosophy view of public goods, it is the balance between public and private interests that determines the level of fairness in society. Additionally, governments make a choice to invest in public goods, or to leave their maintenance to the market economy or the

community. In this way, the pendulum swings between democratic and market forces with regard to the support for public goods.

Judt (2010) refers to the 'cult of the private' and the loss of public goods such as public space. Punter (2009) speaks about the privatisation of public space, with the exclusion that this entails. Both lament the loss of 'social interactions and public goods [which] has been reduced to a minimum' (op.cit., p. 4). There has been a loss of shared citizenship contributing to a democratic deficit. Additionally, some public goods such as public space are the 'visual representations of collective identity', and are useful in organising political society (op.cit., p. 4). In this view, public goods are a valuable resource for a well-functioning democratic society.

However, a public good is also a concept relevant to public space management and can be seen as part of state-provided public services (Carmona et al., 2008). It is then viewed from an economic perspective. This concept of public goods defines it in contrast to private goods. It is characterised as 'non-excludable', 'available' to all people, and 'nonrivalrous', i.e. available regardless of others' possession. Although it is not necessarily publicly provided, it refers mostly to public services such as clean air or policing. Private goods are provided through the market system, 'excludable' to people who do not pay, and 'rivalrous' in that once it is consumed, the supply to others is reduced (Cowen and Shutter, 1999; Lee, 1987).

From the political philosophy perspective, traditional markets are public goods. They are accessible to everyone but also are complex as they have private interests represented by the market traders with stalls in private ownership, albeit by licence, and being run for profit. However, the markets privately owned or privately managed even on public land are run in the public interest and controlled by a public body that ensures free access and use of the market by all.

### 2.2.5 Spatial & Temporal concepts related to public life in Public Space

Different time patterns exist for public space use. In addition to natural cycles such as day, night, and the seasons, the duration of human activity in public space has been represented with regard to time using clocks and calendars. In addition, Adam (1998) explained that linear human time is historic time, reflected in actions in space, as a 'series of events' which are experienced through an irreversible and evolving process.

In Lefebvre's works, including 'Critique of everyday life' (Lefebvre, 1991b), 'Production of space' (Lefebvre, 1991c), and 'rhythm-analysis' (Lefebvre, 1991d), his concept of 'lived

experience', structured by individuals' subjective experience in everyday public space, has been a core theory. 'Lived space' is characterised by the complexity of the interrelationship or interdependence between private and public life. It is the stage upon which economic, cultural and social activities take place in public space where functions such as sleeping, eating, talking and death, happen. Lived space is the by-product of a dialectical relationship between activities as spatial practices, space as perceived by users, and conceived space that reflects a political ideal of a society (Lefebvre, 1991c).

Lefebvre's concept of 'rhythm-analysis' (Lefebvre, 1991d), is a tool to identify the rhythms or the system of regular practices carried out in contemporary urban society, focusing on activities taking place in public space. In 'Rhythm-analysis', three aspects of temporality in space are addressed: subjectivity in space, daily patterns of activity, and patterns of behaviour that change over time.

Firstly, activity generates an individual's subjective experience in space, and depends on their 'choices, as a means of access to what is possible and as an option between those various possibilities' (Lefebvre, 1991a, p.195). Secondly, the pattern of activity, recognised through the cyclical time of nature, reveals people's collective experience. Time is defined as a sequence of events, and the sequence through repetitive presence and activities affected by the intensity of their duration and rapidity (Lefebvre, 1991d). The activity is analysed with regard to two different time frames, the cyclical repetition of natural time, and the linear repetition of human activity. Repetition of activity or patterns of uses combines to form daily subjective experience. It is both quantifiable and qualitative in that it is irreversible and subjective. The practices recognised as patterns in time and space represent linear rhythms of collective groups of users, and they are differentiated from the rhythms of other user groups (Lefebvre, 1991d). Thirdly, the evolution of space is the result of rhythms of activities integrating with urban change (Lefebvre, 1991d).

The three types of rhythms are: 'isorhythmia', the polyrhythms revealed by the repetitions of activity, or patterns in space and time; 'eurhythmia', the disturbed status of isorhythmia when difference interferes; and 'arrhythmia', that is, isorhythmia transformed when the difference has been settled (Lefebvre, 1991d, p.68). The rhythms found in the patterns of activity are behavioural. Such behaviour has a performing character as the gesture of social conduct, and, more importantly, leads to distinct images perceived through linear repetition (Lefebvre, 1991d, p.22).



The rhythms conceptualise the process of retaking an urban space with the intervention of a new rhythm, and as a result, use develops multi-temporalities, or multiple patterns through urban change (Lefebvre, 1991d). The rhythms reflect local adaptation in a changing society. This transformed or adapted rhythm 'always has its origins and effects on those (rhythms) of institutions, of growth, of the population, of exchanges, of work, therefore rhythms which make or express the complexity of present societies' (Lefebvre, 1991d, p.44).

Compared to Lefebvre's ideas about activities related to time and space, space-time theory challenged the critical point of view to time and space with reference to globalisation (Simonsen, 2005, 2004; Crang, 2001; Schuller, 1988). The space-time theory focused on the importance of subjectivity, social construction of space, and making places under influences such as globalisation which tended to reduce local distinctiveness in favour of homogenisation. In terms of subjectivity, time-space theory highlights the continuity and persistence of local spaces, despite the concern about globalisation, 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1989), and 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976). Patterns of behaviour in Lefebvre's rhythm-analysis as a collective experience in time and space prove the connection between activity, change and transformation of behaviour; and, it is individuals as spatial-temporal bodies that recover the framework of space and time in a city (Simonsen, 2005, 2004). The collective experience of place that has been juxtaposed through time is perceived with different intensity in space (Crang, 2001; Schuller, 1988); the different intensity is found in rhythms as 'some tension between predictability (repetition) and surprise', reflecting multi-temporalities (Schuller, 1988, p.14).

Jacobs (1961) interpreted that the performing patterns of behaviour are a dance of time in space. People appear in public space to meet their needs, and movement and activities occur in the same place with the rituals of morning, afternoon, evening and late night, which exemplifies the healthy capacity of a place (Jacobs, 1961, p.386). In urban design, rhythms are an important tool in order to understand how people use public space together (Worpole, 2007). Holland et al. (2007) argue that different social groups use different types of public space using different rhythms. Traditional markets of the UK accommodate different rhythms of user groups such as university students on school days and families on weekends, as well as women and elderly people during weekdays (Watson and Studdert, 2006).

In conclusion, London's markets are public space for social interaction. Users of public space are satisfying a psychological need for routine social encounters that produce diverse levels of social interaction. The public that traditional markets serve is a diverse group made up of

many different types of people who vary in age, gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic class. The public is not one homogenous group. The concept of community of difference has attempted to capture this diversity, reflecting the sense that tolerance and inclusion are important for a successful civil society. The same principle applies to traditional markets that must serve different user groups in a tolerant and inclusive way. Market users represent this community of difference.

London's markets are public places evolving. Public space in cities is urban space that is accessible to all people, regardless of ownership. Both formal and informal behaviour in public space is acceptable as long as it conforms to the customs and regulations set by the dominant groups in society at that time. Public life animates public space and gives it relevance and meaning.

Markets are also a centre of activity for everyday urban experiences, and as such, they play a part in the rhythms of city life. With the influences of globalisation and the space-time compression felt in contemporary society, markets are experiencing challenges that need to be addressed. But markets are also anchoring place identity in communities, and therefore are important elements in the public realm.

However, public space under certain circumstances can become exclusionary, for example when the homeless or certain ethnic groups are discouraged from using it. With good public space management, public space should be inclusionary, allowing freedom of presence and activities as acceptable behaviour and facilitating spatial qualities to maintain diverse social interactions. The important role played by London's traditional markets is as a public good providing an economic service within the public realm, but also a social gathering place for community interaction. Management can affect use of the markets, either towards inclusionary or exclusionary space, depending on their ownership and management bodies.

## 2.3 Two challenges for London's traditional markets

Traditional markets are public spaces that sustain social value in cities. They are sites of commerce but also social interaction, satisfying needs of diverse user groups, including visitors and tourists. However, a rapidly changing urban environment in London today, accompanied by a new economic reality such as changing shopping habits and new retail trends as a result

of technological innovation as well as gentrification of urban neighbourhoods, is affecting traditional markets in London.

### 2.3.1 The Decline of Traditional Retail and the Rise of Online Shopping

The first challenge for markets is in addressing the threat from formal shopping facilities such as supermarkets, in-town retail malls, and digital consumerism. The growth of supermarkets as a competitive alternative has affected traditional markets in the UK causing their decline as a staple site of commerce in the public realm (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Data revealed the significance of the decrease in occupancy rates of market stalls and footfall levels in markets. From 1998/1999 to 2003/2004, the occupancy rates have dropped from 79% to 75%, and weekly footfall levels from 5,473,955 in 2000-01 to 5,363,437 in 2003-04, a fall of 2% (The National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA), 2005).

More importantly, digital consumerism is not a threat specific only to markets but to all aspects of the retail sector - high street shops, supermarkets, and shopping malls. The growth of internet shopping since 2003 has led to a significant fall in high street footfall (Mary Portas, 2011). Traditional markets located in or close to town centres and high streets have also been affected by this fall in shoppers and from price competition from discount supermarkets and clothing chains.

As mentioned in the quote at the beginning of this thesis, markets must adapt to survive. Whereas supermarkets, and out-of-town and in-town retail malls were characterised by homogenised large-scale space designs, traditional markets have the advantage of being a retail environment with a very social focus, created by a diverse set of users from the local community, ranging from office workers to tourists. Shopping becomes a more social experience, and the social networks that are created via local markets, can be the asset that sustains them. However, markets do need to adapt to survive by catering to the needs of 'time-poor yet experience-rich' shoppers (Mary Portas, 2011, p.11). This can be done with the help of market management and strategic support from the local authorities.

### 2.3.2 Gentrification of the Urban Environment

Consumer preferences of affluent shoppers in the period from 1998/1999 to 2003/2004 were increasingly for gentrified markets such as farmers' markets, craft markets, Christmas markets, and French and German markets (the National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA), 2002). Gentrification can be seen as supporting the revival of the traditional market

in London as new, more affluent users flock to them for a more social and diverse retail experience. However, as the markets adapt to serve this new user group, which includes tourists, offering better quality and higher priced goods, the original market users are displaced, as they can no longer find the cheaper quality goods that they want, and can afford.

Britain's traditional retail markets are at a critical juncture, on the one hand some are in decline but on the other, some are a focus for redevelopment along gentrified lines. They are, ironically, becoming shop windows for gentrified authenticity even as some of their longstanding traders and shoppers are being displaced. Crucially, there is also an emerging interest from the state at different levels in markets as a new regenerated commercial space that brings together various policy areas: urban renaissance, healthy living, community cohesion, urban sustainability, re-localization of the economy and tourism (Gonzalez and Waley, 2012, p. 965).

Gentrification is affecting traditional markets in much the same way as it is the high street shops and services. Gonzalez and Waley (2012) argue that gentrification is a recognised by-product of state and market efforts in urban restructuring 'designed to create a privatized and commodified city centre space' (p.966). In the UK, there has been a lack of investment in the public realm by local government, and a commensurate increase in investment by the private sector in large city centre developments. Local planning authorities struggle to obtain public benefits from these developments, but the end result is a gentrified urban environment. In London, with its mix of social and private housing, displacement affects market users who lose out to more affluent shoppers and have to find other markets that are not yet gentrified.

Furthermore, the world class city phenomenon, in which London plays a prominent role, demands that urban environments be improved and enhanced to appeal to 'an increasingly well-off transnational bourgeoisie and a growing international tourist class' (Gonzalez, op.cit., p. 967). Markets then become a consumer experience, and a focal point in retail-led regeneration projects. The role of market management straddles the consumerist experience agenda where an enhanced public realm supports the market as a tourist attraction, and the agenda that aims to support the market as the centre of the community, a resource for the local population, and a positive contribution to urban public space that is available to all.

Therefore, economic development, and the resultant urban gentrification, is a driving force from which the complexity and diversification of contemporary public space has resulted (Carr et al., 1992). Gentrification of public space can result in 'stratified space' derived from the retreat or self-segregation of some of its local users. It indicates a socio-economic divide based

on users' socio-economic status. In the UK, Watson and Studdert (2006), amongst others, have focused on markets as social public spaces that foster social inclusion, social mobility, community cohesion and a 'cosmopolitan civic environment' (Anderson, 2006). However, Watson and Studdert (2006) also pointed out that the communities that markets serve can be differentiated by their socio-economic status, for example, middle-class people in a gentrified local area who bring their new preferences for higher-quality and higher-priced goods. Marginal social groups may bring distinctive preferences for ethnic or more competitively priced goods to their local markets, but are limited by their socio-economic status from buying in the local market if the range of goods and their prices are no longer affordable. Both the market and the surrounding area can become stratified space as a result. Skilled market management then needs to balance the demands of these diverse user groups.

Gentrification in London, as a cause of some of the socio-economic changes in London, has been described as a homogeneous process in which the middle class replaces and displaces the working class (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Smith, 1986). Abercrombie's plan for London in 1944, developed sprawling suburban garden cities designed for the middle classes, and this caused an exodus from the inner city. However, since the 1990s, people have returned to the inner city for economic reasons such as affordability in the housing market, and for cultural reasons related to sophisticated socio-cultural lifestyles. Gentrification of neighbourhoods has resulted from this influx of the middle class into traditionally working class inner city neighbourhoods (Butler, 2007; 2003). Since 2004 when the London Plan strategically organised economic development, aiming to improve inner London for liveability and attract new residents, the economic developments are now driven by private developers and mediated by policy whereas individual house buyers had driven the gentrification in the past. Gentrification in London has been redefined as 'gentrification without displacement' of working class people (Keddie and Tonkiss, 2010, p. 57). Whereas individual house buyers had driven the gentrification in the past, the economic developments are now driven by private developers and mediated by policy. This has then affected the traditional local markets which have seen a change in the users that they serve. Markets have needed to adapt to these new user preferences, or face decline as their traditional lower-income users have had to move elsewhere.

As London is one of the global cities, Butler (2007) proposed that it attracts highly skilled middle-class workers who earn high incomes. Since the influence from gentrification has been detected in inner London, the middle class has become 'a third of inner London's population'. The socio-cultural character of gentrified areas has been described as homogenised where the

community is closed, and social diversity in such a community means differentiation *within* the middle class (Butler, 2001; 2003). The social networks of a middle-class neighbourhood are defined as comfortable and instrumental but superficial and with a low level of social interaction. The social relationships run in parallel with other people in the area rather than being integrated. Despite a preference for social diversity such as a multi-cultural atmosphere, social relationships remain 'information-based' and are not so cohesive (Butler, 2001).

Considering gentrification in London, the effects on public places used by new affluent middle-class residents are derived from their tastes and preferences for consumption. The preferences of high income professionals are for places of residence and leisure with easy access to the City of London (Butler, 2006). Furthermore, the middle class in a gentrified area is generally distinguished by a desire for high-quality local amenities, aesthetics in architectural and physical form, and leisure infrastructure such as shops, restaurants, bars and cafes (Butler, 2001).

So London's traditional markets have been affected by a rapidly changing urban context in London. The universal change in shopping habits has severely challenged local markets, forcing them to adapt in order to survive. Their most significant advantage is that they sustain a vibrant social atmosphere that provides a marked contrast to the homogenised space of supermarkets and retail malls. Traditional markets continue to contribute to a diverse urban social experience and the socio-political vibrancy of the public realm.

Furthermore, gentrification, introducing affluent middle-class people to most areas of inner London, challenges traditional markets and their long-standing relationship with local communities. This is connected to the concerns about stratified space, consumption of public space leading to privatised and exclusionary space. Traditional markets, if well managed, work to balance these social tensions, creating a more inclusive public realm.

In a positive way, people's perception about declining markets reconfirm that markets need to adapt to survive. Gentrified markets can also be a tool to invite people and recover vitality. The traditional markets need to adapt and change to survive, but in a way that integrates all members in the local communities. Therefore, management based on the awareness of the challenges in a changing local context and of the opportunities and tensions that accompany such fundamental change, should aim to address these challenges in a way that preserves both the market and the public space for all users, making it a vital social and economic centre in the local area.

## 2.4 Public Space Management Policies in London and the UK

The role of public space management in the UK is to preserve the public realm as a public good for the public who has the legal right to use it. Public space management policies in the UK and those policies relevant to London's traditional markets underpin the visions and management practices affecting London's markets. Public space management, and the policies from which it is derived, is a critical factor affecting the quality of public life in traditional markets. As a result, this section of the chapter will review the national and local policy context in an effort to understand how it shapes the management visions, strategies, procedures and practices that govern the use and regulation of London's traditional markets. The cultural and economic strategies pertaining to public space and its uses will be discussed because traditional markets provide cultural, social and economic value to the community.

### 2.4.1 Public Space Management Policies in the UK

During the research period, 2005–2009, the reform of the planning system in the UK that had been carried out in the late 1990s, aimed to provide a system focused more on sustainable development. Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS 1) and subsequent policies addressed sustainable development to ensure the achievement of environmental, economic and social objectives. The social objectives emphasised the need to meet the diverse needs of all people in all local communities now and in future generations, promoting community cohesion, social inclusion, public well-being, and citizenship which promotes equal opportunities for all. For the environmental objectives, the quality of built and natural environments was to be enhanced and protected through design, conservation and planning, with particular emphasis on the provision of high quality public space. Economic development was highlighted with regard to its social and environmental benefits, its impact on local economies, and its promotion of a suitable business environment for industry, commerce, retail, the public sector (e.g. health and education), tourism and leisure. Sustainable development was to be delivered efficiently and with the wise use of resources.

Regarding public space and its management for sustainability, two sets of rational principles were critical when considering the quality of public space. The first set of principles concerned open spaces for public value that is defined legally in the Town and Country Planning Act 1990. Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 17 confirmed that open space such as a public garden or land for public recreation, is a public forum, and also included resources such as rivers, canals, lakes and reservoirs which can be opportunities for activities and for visual amenity. The second set

of principles related to the 'quality of life for all people', emphasising the importance of a high quality local environment. Liveability in local environments was an important consideration so that people could enjoy a better quality of life. The quality of open space was highlighted as being as important for the quality of life as other public services such as schools and public transport (Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), 2003).

In order to deliver the quality of open space that could provide a good quality of life for all people, design and management were highlighted as essential tools. In particular, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) highlighted the importance of management of the existing built environment and public realm because 'more than 90% of our urban fabric will be with us in 30 years. As a consequence, this is where the real urban quality challenge lies, rather than with the much smaller proportion of newly designed spaces created each year' (Urban Task Force, 1999, p.45).

However, despite the emphasis on the management of the existing urban environment, a better quality of open space was to be encouraged and delivered through a design-led approach, which overlooked the needs of existing spaces. A number of qualities were required in terms of design: for example, 'good design' 'ensures attractive, usable, durable and adaptable places and is a key element in achieving sustainable development' (ODPM, 2005, p.14); and inclusive design which is shaped by community involvement in the development process of new spaces and which highlights physical and social connectivity, accessibility and adaptability for 'free access and use' by all people (ODPM, 2005).

These qualities were to be delivered through design for consistency in the provision of inclusive access and ease of use. Space for social interaction was to be created through a high standard in the aesthetic and visual qualities of the built form. All of these were addressed in the design criteria (Transport for London, 2007; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

In order to understand, protect, create and enhance the qualitative and quantitative provision of open space strategically, and to provide a clear framework for co-working with stakeholders as well as integrated policies, open space strategy was highlighted at national and regional levels (ODPM, 2006; Greater London Authority (GLA), 2008). In London, it was supported by the recognition of concerns about the decline of open space, through vandalism and lack of investment, and about adequate provision of open spaces through better management (GLA, 2008). However, according to open space policy at the national level (ODPM, 2006), the types of open space that were considered in the policies had not considered spaces that nurtured a vibrant public life which included traditional markets. The types of open space covered in the



policies were divided into only two categories according to their physical and visual aspects, such as 'soft' and 'hard' space. Soft space was represented by 'green space', 'normally vegetated space', while 'hard space' was 'hard-surfaced' open space.

The open space strategies addressed the qualities of hard space such as streets from the negative perception of people's concerns about anti-social behaviour. At the local level, the strategies which related to hard space only, highlighted tensions such as fear of anti-social behaviour in streets and did not address the potential for public life in these spaces (London Boroughs of Southwark (2008), Lambeth (2004), Camden (2004), Tower Hamlets (2004), Lewisham (2004)), whereas the opportunity for public life was addressed in 'soft space' such as parks and green spaces (London Boroughs of Hammersmith and Fulham (2008), Westminster (2007), Southwark (2008), and the City of London, 2008).

For the public realm and existing public space such as streets, the policies contained in *Living places: Cleaner, Safer and Greener* (ODPM, 2006) highlighted the qualities and importance of management. This strategy addressed public space management's contribution in building community cohesion and successful communities through the provision and maintenance of high quality public space.

The public realm was defined by the government as space 'everywhere between the places where we live and work' that is accessible and used by all, and everywhere between where 'people work and live, irrespective of ownership and extent of public access' (ODPM, 2006, p.9). However, for the public realm, a statutory framework of minimum standards was suggested at the national level for tackling people's concerns generally, but especially about crime. The minimum requirements concerned safety, cleanliness, and the provision of green space (or attractive space) based on public preferences, especially in deprived areas. Maintenance based on agreed and recognised standards should be a focus for management (ODPM, 2006).

The government's cultural strategy stressed the role and value of the public realm to cultural life as this was fundamental to a sense of belonging and attachment to communities (GLA, 2008b; 2004). The public realm was defined as 'a platform for culture' and 'a place where people can meet and interact, play games, celebrate festivals or set up stalls', which includes markets (GLA, 2004, p.11). The strategy considered the potential of the public realm for celebrating cultural difference in age, gender and ethnicity, defining culture as 'a powerful force, promoting understanding and a sense of identity' bringing together 'people with different backgrounds, transcending barriers and celebrating difference' (GLA, 2004; 2008b).

Understanding cultural diversity in a multi-cultural city with a growing population, the strategy aimed to enhance London in terms of excellence as a world-class city. As well as seeking high-quality design, or events which can promote London as a cultural city and tourist attraction, this strategy also supported actions to enhance a sense of place, support and sustain local economies, and encourage temporary events as the public realm is important for London's citizens to access London's cultural value. The importance of activities such as temporary events in streets was well recognised in terms of legibility and connectivity, reclaiming the public realm for local communities, with the support of road closures and the implementation of safety measures. The '100 Public Spaces' programme in London was created to promote the regeneration of public space for local communities. In addition, programmes such as 'town trails' were encouraged to enhance public engagement and understanding of London's history and its built environment (GLA, 2004).

London's traditional markets were supported for their sense of place by the cultural strategies at the London level, encouraging events and tours that would enhance an understanding of the history of the public realm. These strategies emphasised potentially effective tools to enhance London's citizens' sense of belonging to their community and their local public spaces and markets, as focal points where diverse user groups could come together. Highly attractive markets could also play a role as tourist destinations.

As well as the strategies focusing on the public realm, multiple proposals were directed at London's markets through the relevant policies and programmes that recognised their economic benefits. The policies at the national level focused on markets in light of their potential to enhance the economic vitality of town centres, adding to their competitiveness and attractiveness. This continues to be mentioned in the reforms of planning policies since the economic recession of 2008 (DCLG, 2012).

Street and covered markets (including farmers' markets) can make a valuable contribution to local choice and diversity in shopping as well as the vitality of town centres and to the rural economy. As an integral part of the vision for their town centres, local authorities should seek to retain and enhance existing markets and, where appropriate, re-introduce or create new ones. Local authorities should ensure that their markets remain attractive and competitive by investing in their improvement (ODPM, 2005, p.13).

In line with UK development policy at the national level, policies and strategies at the London level also focused on the economic vitality of London's markets. The London Plan (GLA, 2008; 2009) has reconfirmed the importance of markets for economic vitality in town centres,

highlighting that markets enhance retail diversity because they offer an alternative shopping experience. The economic benefits were considered to include a broad range of opportunities for small businesses as there were low setup and running costs while there was also the potential to develop a direct relationship with customers (Cross River Partnership, 2007). In particular, street, farmers', and strategic markets such as Portobello Road, Borough Market, and Columbia Road market are attractions for local residents, Londoners, and national and international tourists because they are competitive and accessible (GLA, 2009).

In the case of street markets, policies and practices supported the markets as visitor and tourist attractions in *The London Tourism Action Plan 2009–13* (London Development Authority (LDA), 2009). *The Mayor's Food Strategy* (LDA, 2005), which promoted healthy eating through the consumption of fruit and vegetables, suggested a sustainable food system connecting street markets to the most disadvantaged citizens while also providing a variety of cuisines reflecting cultural and ethnic difference. Street markets were also a part of the plan to help wholesale markets change their practices in response to the demand for sustainable food in the local food infrastructure system by improving existing street-based food stalls and supporting the creation of new ones (LDA, 2007). These policies and strategies highlighted the economic and social value of London's markets, and advocated their protection and enhancement for the diverse roles they played in town centres, the small business sector, and tourism.

Through the reforms of the planning system in the late 1990s, the idea of better quality public services for local people along with community leadership was emphasised in terms of civic engagement for sustainable development (ODPM, 2001). For customer-based services that provide value for money which are effective, transparent and accountable, local councils needed the freedom to develop policies in a flexible and strategic manner with public, private and voluntary partnerships. Cross-departmental and community leadership and consultation on community needs were also recommended. The involvement of all stakeholders and public or semi-public sector bodies was recommended for effective and inclusive public space management (ODPM, 2006a; 2006b). A partnership approach to market management was therefore supported by policy.

In the case of London's traditional markets, especially street, covered and farmers' markets in town centres, local authorities and the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) were to be engaged in order to improve their economic vitality and viability (GLA, 2008). Particularly

for street markets as visitor and tourist attractions, policy also suggested co-working with local authorities, the ATCM, and marketing bodies (LDA, 2009).

London's traditional markets as public space should be managed under the direction of the policies on public space management that aim for better public spaces with aspirations for greater value and quality of life for all people. Despite the development of policies, strategies and programmes for public open space, however, management strategies for markets had not been developed because the public life in markets was not recognised as a type of open space and was included only within a wide definition of the public realm. Public space and market management was addressed with reference mainly to maintenance that focused on safety, cleanliness and attractiveness at a minimum quality standard, and to tackling anti-social behaviour.

Nonetheless, regarding policies and strategies relevant to London's markets, their social, cultural and economic benefits were supported at the national, London-wide, and local levels. Qualities such as a sense of place, legibility, connectivity, competitiveness, attractiveness, safety and cleanliness were identified in the policies. For sustainability, and the markets' economic and social value, cross-departmental and community leadership and a strategic partnership approach with public, private and voluntary sectors, especially including town centre managers in the case of markets, were recommended. These were considered and developed into market strategies starting in 2008.

## 2.4.2 The Role of Management in the Life of Traditional Markets since 2008

Two reports on London's traditional markets published since 2008 - *London's Retail Street Markets - Draft Final Report* (LDA, 2010) and *Market Failure: Can the traditional market survive?* (House of Commons, Communities and Local Government Committee, 2009) have highlighted the importance of strategies to enhance the economic, social and environmental value of markets, and endorsed effective use of relevant policies. The report from the London Development Agency (LDA) was based on an awareness that the city's traditional markets are a 'public good' where 'everyone can go shopping' (LDA committee GLA, 2008, p.6) so that markets 'should be protected from competition with other shopping facilities, redevelopments and new markets' as a result of gentrification in local areas (LDA committee GLA, 2008, p.6).

On the basis of stakeholders' preferences obtained through consultation with traders, local residents, the public, and government, four themes were identified: financial viability, world-

class infrastructure and facilities, promotion for traders, and the need for management. It suggested the evaluation of, and strategies to address, opportunities and tensions to maximise benefits from existing markets (GLA, 2008).

Table 2A shows how the four themes recommended by the city government are related to the themes in the market strategies prepared at the local level (LDA committee, GLA, 2008; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2009; London Borough of Islington, 2008). The strategies at the local level, published by the three London boroughs of Islington, Southwark, and Tower Hamlets, focused on street markets operated by local authorities. All the reports and strategies defined the role of management as only the application of regulations and legislation, although management should also cover the preparation of strategies for the enhancement and support of individual markets.

**Table 2A. Vision and Strategies to support London's markets at the London wide and local borough levels**

Local Authority	Market Vision	Market Strategies and practices			
Greater London Authority (GLA)	public places as a public good where everyone can go shopping	Financial viability • Business support, business advice and start-up support, tailored to the needs of new and casual traders, with information on customers' habits and needs	Appropriate Infrastructure & facilities to be provided • buildings and shelters, lighting, electricity supply, drainage, signage, accessibility, parking availability for traders, public toilets for traders and customers, seating areas, waste collection, recycling, cleaning, removal of graffiti, security, and policing	Management • Effective Management of markets • fair application of regulations and legislation	Promotion, marketing and branding • signposting and • marketing to promote a more positive place image • websites, • advertising via media • branded goods, • city walks all targeting visitors or tourists
London Borough of Islington (2008)	successful street trading, and market experience	running economically viable markets	greening, markets within our community	managing our markets	promoting our markets
London Borough of Southwark (2009)	street trading in markets as part of regeneration projects, and improving public health through access to healthy food and products	Part of Regeneration schemes to make the borough Thriving & viable with business support, control of quality and types of product	Improving the public realm, creating greener and public spaces for social interaction • new elements and unique, flexible design, • minimize clutter, • promotion • time management, • new & appropriate signage • promote green travel plans, • recycling, waste reduction/ • promote an ethnic mix, • create places for gathering	modernising through management, reviewing policies, procedures and working practices for economic vitality	branding and promotion, targeted marketing, rebranding using a website, events, leaflets, provide appropriate local signage, cater to groups, • awards
London Borough of Tower Hamlets (2009)	support local employment, small business enterprise and attract people, visitors and shoppers	trader support and training, use of pop-up stalls for food and lunchtime eating	Invest in market infrastructure, provide public toilets, lighting & electricity supply, drainage, signage, accessibility stalls & shelter, trader parking, seating for customers	effective financial management with enforcing, reporting, monitoring and evaluation	for marketing • encourage patronage, • recruitment • profile – markets association • branding using events, websites

Source: author's own summary, 2009, adapted from GLA, 2008; London Borough of Islington, 2008; London Borough of Southwark, 2009; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2009

### **Market management since the economic recession of 2008**

The House of Commons Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) Committee published a report referred to earlier. This *Market Failure: Can the traditional market survive?* was based on its inquiry in 2009 on London's markets just after the onset of the economic recession. The report stressed the role of traditional markets according to their locations such as in metropolitan, urban or rural areas. It focused on two key issues, market finance and management, and made 32 recommendations including the development of a strategic plan, funding support from other agencies, financial sharing with local trader organisations, benchmarking market champions, legislative changes, publishing best practice guidance, stressing the diverse benefits of markets, and building inter-departmental working groups. It suggested eight qualities for metropolitan markets, such as good management, integration with town centres and local communities, investment, promotion, establishing a unique selling point, attention to location, partnership working and size of management team, orientation towards food, and long-term commitment, as learned from lessons and best practice from Europe.

Additionally, the final report from the LDA committee (2010), completed after the interim report in 2008, expanded the role of management and recommended commercial, and proactive management. Other recommendations included engagement by London boroughs, market management involving traders, management and business guidance for London market managers and traders, and co-ordination of policy and strategy across the City (LDA committee, 2010). This report confirmed that policies had been developed for markets, and established the working group in the central government for 'a good practice guide for market management, a business support model for new and existing market traders, and guidance on management models for markets' (LDA committee, 2010, p. 55). One of the reports published by the working group identified different management models across the UK, which included management by the local authority, private sector, traders, partnerships, arms-length (limited liability partnership), social/community enterprise, voluntary sector, and shared management operated by different public sector organisations' (DCLG, 2010). However, the report pointed out the lack of market strategies at the local level, and of management skills and knowledge.

### **Public space management since the economic recession of 2008**

The economic downturn and subsequent reforms in planning policies as a result of the election of a new government in the UK and London, focused strategies on the economic aspects of the markets. The reformed strategies still stressed sustainable development and the economic,

social and environmental value of markets; and, they directed public space policies towards the creation of high quality public places (HM Government, 2009). Particularly at the London level, the provision and management of public space relied on the private sector especially in relation to new developments. Partnerships with private sector bodies were recommended for management, with a view to providing new standards for high-quality public spaces in large-scale office, retail, residential, and leisure developments by the private sector (Mayor of London, 2009).

Prior to the new planning policy, the *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) (Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), 2012), public space provision and management had been dominated by aspirations in planning policy at the national level in the UK. However, the new strategy abolished those strategies and reduced investment from the government for public space management. Competitiveness and the design of a high quality public environment by the private sector were seen to be the way to deliver better places for a vibrant public life. Especially in the case of markets, the *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) continued to mention their economic benefits in town centres, stressing competitiveness and attractiveness.

### **Public space management through partnerships**

When it comes to public space management in the UK, partnership is an institutional tool used to facilitate the creation of public space for the public good and to nurture sustainable communities and has been addressed in government policy since 1980s. Public sector reform in the 1980s and early 1990s addressed problems of fragmentation of responsibilities in relation to management and a lack of public investment. Reforms advocated private sector involvement, which suggests a change in the relationship between 'central and local government, society and government, the economy and government'. Although private sector engagement brought cost effectiveness, competition among providers, and consumers' choice for delivery, it resulted in 'privatisation, agencification, and the spread of contractual relationships' which increased fragmentation (De Magalhaes and Carmona, 2006).

In the late 1990s, a series of white papers supporting management partnership, strategies and programmes, shifted the approach to multiplicity and mediation. At the local level, management arrangements were complex and overlapping, involving owners, users, service providers, agencies, and the public, private and voluntary sectors. Against these fragmented responsibilities, cross-sectoral approaches and more coordinated actions at the local level were proposed (Carmona et al., 2008; De Magalhaes and Carmona, 2006). Furthermore,



conflict lies in the different interpretations of place held by departmental agencies with differing interests and values, particularly government representations relating to the political, economic and cultural conditions of society (Madanipour, 2001; Hull & Healy, 2001). Ultimately the opportunities and conflicts dealt with by market management which is also responsible for maintenance, liability, and marketing, depends on the local agenda and priorities (Carmona et al., 2008; 2003).

To sum up, market strategies were developed by the GLA from 2008 considered the economic and social value of markets, and the threat of market decline from competition with other shopping alternatives. A series of reports were produced after the onset of the economic recession in 2008 and reforms of planning system, and after the election of new national and London governments. Based on the understanding of the role of markets as public space in London and their social, economic, and environmental value, key themes were addressed. Furthermore, they recommended the preparation of market strategies at the local level, based on the understanding of the different challenges, tensions and opportunities facing individual markets. Whereas the first draft report on markets by the LDA in 2008 conflated the role of market management with the narrow role of ensuring compliance with legislation and regulations, the final report in 2010 - just after the fieldwork part of this research ended - supported a more active and broader role for management in order to support survival of London's markets.

All the reports and a few studies of traditional markets at the local level highlighted the lack of management skills and knowledge, and highlighted the need for best management practices. Post 2008 effective and inclusive management practices with strong aspirations for markets as public spaces needed to be developed, which was even more critical since public space management was no longer supported by national policies, and as a result of local authority underfunding, relied more on the private sector.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Traditional markets are public spaces available to all people. London's markets have been evolving as historic places with accepted and also legitimate use, which encourages public life to continue stimulating social vitality in cities. They are focal points for the community and reinforce its historic identity.

Users' encounters generate diverse forms of social interaction and community cohesion in the UK. Patterns of use and behaviour found in those markets suggest that they serve and link diverse user groups. The social character of traditional markets supports Young's (1990) and Fraser's (1990) notions of public space, referring to a 'community of difference' or 'multiple publics'. As space for commerce and social interaction, London's traditional markets continue to provide economic, social and cultural value. However, now, London's traditional markets face challenges from changing shopping habits, and gentrification. Some markets are in decline, and they need to adapt to these changes, which is critical for them to survive. Here, management plays a decisive role.

Policies on public space management in the UK have changed during the research period. The policies have guided management to ensure better public space through positive aspirations based on the value of vibrant public space and traditional markets for all people. Despite the development of policies, strategies and programmes, the public life of markets was rarely recognised as a major function of these spaces. Policies favouring the design-led approach for the creation of new public space limited the role of management.

However, the policies and strategies relevant to London's traditional markets acknowledged that markets are public facilities for economic, social and cultural value supporting sustainability. The cultural and social benefits of meeting people different in age, gender and ethnicity are significant, and nurture a sense of belonging and community cohesion. The economic benefit of markets is in encouraging small businesses, public health, viability of town centres, and tourism.

For the successful public space, qualities which satisfy people's needs, protect and enhance people's rights and produce positive meaning are fundamental. Management needs to understand the changes affecting market use, and facilitate people's needs for comfort, relevance, meaning and stimulation. Public space management practices which had formerly had a narrow remit that involved tackling anti-social behaviour, and maintenance issues related to a minimum quality standard on safety, cleanliness and attractiveness, were expanded to incorporate all matters related to market survival. As markets in town centres, their economic use and vitality focus on competitiveness and attractiveness for street, covered and farmers' markets.

In order to manage public space as a public good available to all people, management practices need to be undertaken in partnership with all stakeholders. Furthermore, management needs to control conflict over uses, in a way that constrains harmful behaviour or

user groups, but allows informality and acceptable behaviours in order to achieve a balance of all people's rights to use and enjoy public space. For sustainability, and the markets' economic, social, cultural and environmental value as public space, policies recommended cross-departmental and community leadership and a strategic partnership approach with public, private and voluntary sectors, especially including town centre management. The policies also suggest funding resources and a management structure that needed to be coordinated across all stakeholder organisations.

New market strategies have been recommended for London's markets since 2008 in two reports, prepared for government, which have extended the role of management from compliance with legislation and regulations, and called for good management with seven other qualities, such as integration with town centres and local communities, investment, promotion, establishing a unique selling point, attention to location, partnership working and size of management team, orientation towards food and long-term commitments as learned from lessons and best practice from Europe, especially for metropolitan markets. They continue to envisage markets as a public good with economic, social and environmental value, delivered by the effective application of relevant policies. For effective practices, they suggested factors such as financial viability, world-class infrastructure and facilities, promotion for traders and the markets generally, and management. Specific local strategies have been developed for street markets operated by local authorities although various types of London markets are managed by different types of operators such as private sector bodies or community organisations which need to produce strategies for the individual markets.

Considering that markets are a public good with complexity derived from combining private and public interests related to economic viability and social vitality, management of inner London's traditional markets should also be aware of the opportunities and tensions created by gentrification. Particularly gentrification in inner London can be an opportunity for the markets. It can bring an influx of new users, and sustain public life and economic viability. However, although the economic viability is important for markets to sustain public life, management pursuing economic growth may lead to stratified space. Gentrified markets are highly likely to be stratified space which displaces original users.

Regarding the opportunities and tensions, management should be sensitive to people's changing needs over time in the local community. However, subsequent reforms stressing economic performance and the design-led approach at the national level have altered public

space management policies. As a result, it is more difficult to secure management of markets as public space that focuses on a balance between economic viability and social vitality.

chapter

# 3

L i t e r a t u r e   R e v i e w

## 3 The nature of London's traditional markets as urban public places

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### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the urban design concepts related to the nature of traditional markets as complex urban public spaces referring to the social, physical, temporal and management urban design dimensions in order to better appreciate the nature of traditional markets as complex urban public spaces. This critical review of the academic literature focuses on the more practical aspects of the discussions on public space and public life, and on the role and significance of public space and market management.

In urban design studies, there are at least six dimensions that structure the analysis of public space – social, perceptual, functional, morphological, visual, and temporal (Carmona et al, 2003). In this chapter, the initial focus is on the social dimension, which includes the perceptual and functional dimensions, as it is the experiences provided by urban markets that draw people to them. The physical aspect of the marketplace which combines the visual and morphological dimensions, herein referred to as the physicality of the market, provides the backdrop or setting for these social experiences so this dimension will be examined next. The temporal dimension reviews the manner and patterns of use of public space which contributes to the rhythms of city life. The management dimension has been added here because management of public space and of traditional markets is seen to be the tool used to realise the ideals of a public space available to all, as highlighted in chapter 2. The social, physical and temporal aspects of market life are managed with a view to protecting and enhancing the public life of the marketplace.

In the social dimension, users' needs and perceptions determine the quality of their public life, as well as their openness to encounters and the social experiences available in the marketplace. In the physical dimension, London's markets are understood with regard to their physical form, context, and urban location in urban design. In the temporal dimension, the times of operation of London's markets and patterns of use are discussed in terms of temporality in the use of public space. The management dimension examines the role of market management in terms of the strategic and practical issues of market operations, and

the many responsibilities and skills required to manage a market successfully for both economic viability and social vitality.

Finally, at the end of the chapter is the discussion of the conceptual framework for the research which has been distilled from the concepts in both chapters 2 and 3. These concepts have highlighted the key issues to be investigated in this study on the role and importance of the management of London's traditional urban markets today. The research attempts to identify best practice examples of management, and also to illustrate the variety of challenges facing market management in a complex urban environment such as London.

### 3.2 The Social Dimension of Urban Public Space & Traditional Markets

The social dimension focuses on the concepts related to the quality of public life in public space which is important to this research as markets have traditionally performed a vital social as well as economic role in the public realm. As mentioned in chapter 2, notions of the public sphere refer to the civic realm accessible to all people, but the public realm changes when there are changes to its context. Therefore, it is the role of public space management to maintain an inclusive and equitable public realm.

Needs motivate people to visit public space and move through it (Carr et al., 1992; Jacobs, 1961). Spending time in public space suggests that users are comfortable and this creates chances that they can experience encounters with others. Shared experience between public space users produces a positive sense of place, attracting and linking more people.

Urban markets reveal that they fulfil diverse needs as places of commerce as well as social interaction (Watson and Studdert, 2006). In order to understand the public life of London's markets in terms of encounters and social experience, users' needs with regard to commerce, consumption and social connection must be considered. This section examines the sense of place nurtured by traditional markets and the ways in which they fulfil users' psychological needs in the practices of everyday life. Furthermore, the critiques of the spatial manifestations of public life in urban markets suggest that management affects the quality of their public environment.

### 3.2.1 Sense of place in traditional markets

A sense of place is established through the sensory aspect of an environment through seeing, feeling, touching, hearing and smelling (Lynch, 1981). Lynch (1981, p. 134) hypothesised that a sense of place depends on the ease of identification of the elements of a space with its subjective meaning, which is mentally represented in time and space; 'loss of orientation' brings 'emotional insecurity and fear'. Positive perception indicates high quality public space. Collective experience from everyday routines carried out in public space builds the familiarity with place. Despite individuals' different perceptions about the same place, a cultural norm can be found by those who habitually use a particular place. A marketplace is therefore a place where cultural norms meet.

Enjoyment in the use and perception of a public place varies in intensity according to the occasion shaping the individual's experience, for example, in relation to greeting and chatting between traders and shoppers in markets. The emotional feeling of familiarity leaves a strong impression in memories and shapes personal values, which contribute to personal identity and a collective sense of belonging.

Elements that build a sense of place include occasion, spatial structure, and time orientation (Lynch, 1981). Engaged with an occasion in a certain space and time, formal place structure is perceived and constructed uniquely in a mental image, for example, as the result of interaction between psychological attachment and space. Time orientation is represented by patterns of behaviour over time according to 'events, clock time, rhythms of activity, natural processes, signs, lighting, historic preservation, celebrations, ritual, etc.' (Lynch, 1981, pp. 132-135). Market sites and times such as opening hours can contribute to sense of place.

In terms of place identity, Norberg-Schulz (1980) developed his concept of 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place', based on Heidegger's (1962) idea about place which is defined as the spatial structure of everyday experience. 'Dwelling' in space is a part of daily experience and a concrete expression of time-space orientations, identifications and meaning of space through the experiences of everyday life. Dwelling is 'when he can orientate himself within and identify himself with space', or, 'when he experiences the environment as meaningful' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.10). The psychological operation of judging inside and outside creates meanings and builds place identity. Based on Heidegger's (1962) idea about the meaning of place as a psychological function of the sense of belonging to spaces and neighbourhoods over time, the experience is connected to psychological feelings of enclosure.



Therefore, 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place' stresses the psychological dimension of an experience and a meaning growing in a characteristic environment. 'Authenticity' means the 'essential contents' with 'deeper roots' or the 'stabilised order' of place, which are not influenced by the change of context (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.17). However, the authenticity of place also contains 'creative participation' when change occurs through local processes. Place identity is produced by the changes and the establishment of a new order. It is the dynamics of change in authenticity that enables the 'capacity of receiving different contents' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.18). Traditional markets can provide a sense of authenticity and continuity in the face of urban change, preserving a sense and spirit of place.

### **Legibility**

With regard to a sense of place, legibility is an environmental quality allowing people to understand the layout of space easily (Lynch, 1960), or 'the degree to which the inhabitants of a settlement are able to communicate accurately to each other via its symbolic physical features' (Lynch, 1981, p. 139). Lynch (1960) pointed out that legibility is not obtained only from implicit spatial elements of environments but also from explicit forms connected to non-spatial concepts and values. Legibility is best understood by examining people's perceptions and mental images of a place rather than the physical and material forms of the environment.

The conditions for an attachment to and a strong sense of place are derived from environmental qualities that match needs, while providing a legible spatial layout (Lynch, 1981). The sense of place has plurality, linking multiple elements and diverse user groups (Lynch, 1981). Among the five elements for legibility - paths, districts, edges, landmarks and nodes, Lynch (1960, p. 48) identified nodes as strategic locations in a city acting as centres of activity such as 'primary junctions, places of a break in transportation, a crossing or convergence of paths, moments of shift from one structure to another, or 'concentrations, which gain their importance from being the condensation of some use or physical character, as a street-corner hangout or an enclosed square' Lynch (1960, p.48). Exploring elements for enclosure or comfort, Bosselmann (2011) confirmed that psychological comfort is not fully explained by physical space and emphasised that the qualities of space affecting public life should be considered. Creating a positive sense of place is an important factor for successful urban markets as public spaces.

A sense of place may be linked to the physical structure of an historic marketplace as an 'anchorage in observable things... such as a school or a church' (Tuan, 1977, p.113). Prince (1978, p.35) speculated that temporal continuity of a public space preserves it in people's

memories, and that only memories and shared experiences remind us of the origin of places following spatial change as a result of development. In terms of place identity, Norberg-Schulz (1980) developed his concept of 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place', as mentioned earlier. This is relevant to markets because they may exist in 'conserved urban landscapes' and be part of the authenticity of the place (Larkham, 2003, p.67).

'Lowen- thal (1979) has suggested that 'the past' exists as both an individual and collective construct, with shared values and experiences being important within cultural groups. Group identity is thus closely linked with the form and history of place, creating a sense of place or *genius loci*:' (Larkham, 2003, p.69). This sense of place, shared collectively, then creates a sense of continuity within the community. A market can be a part of this shared sense of place and experience. Maintaining this historic significance is not only left to the community but to the management of the space, as a steward of this shared environment.

### 3.2.2 Psychological needs of market users

The social experience provided by markets such as greeting and chatting between shoppers and traders nurtures an intimate relationship within the community: 'Face-to-face and longstanding social relationships, a variety of goods, adventure, happiness and dynamic interaction, meeting and parting, gaining and losing, virtue and vice, the sacred and the mundane ...' (Buie, 2000, p.27).

This described the social experience in traditional markets of Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries (Buie, 2000, p. 27). Today the social atmosphere relies on the community of traders (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Comfort in the marketplace is demonstrated by lingering while shopping suggesting feelings of enjoyment while seeking produce and experiencing the social market atmosphere (Watson and Studdert, 2006; Dines et al., 2006). Therefore, markets are understood as spaces of unexpected encounters with strangers and, as such encounters become routine, they build a sense of belonging which generates more diverse forms of social interaction. Social value such as attachment and belonging to local communities, social cohesion and a communal sense of wellbeing, was derived from these forms of public life in markets (Watson and Studdert, 2006; Dines et al., 2006).

#### **Perceptions of Safety and Security**

In order to create and maintain the social atmosphere in markets, a positive sense of safety and security is important for user's' psychological comfort. Self-regulation in relation to social

vitality is based on natural surveillance and accepted norms of behaviour, and these help to maintain the civility of the public space, setting standards and supporting voluntary controls (Jacobs, 1961). Accordingly, maintaining sufficient numbers of effective eyes on the street is critical. The discussions on safety or security in urban design also focus on controlling negative aspects such as anti-social behaviour, which is thought to degrade the environment of the neighbourhood and make everyday public space banal and untidy (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Newman, 1973). Wilson and Kelling (1982) proposed the 'broken window theory', in relation to promoting a safer environment, and this recommended the inclusion of retail development around public spaces to nurture vitality and viability, as well as security in numbers. Traditional markets provide this retail use that enlivens and populates public space.

Oc and Tiesdell (1999; 2000) proposed four urban design approaches for safe environments: 1) the fortress approach involving walls, barriers, gates, physical segregation, privatisation and control of territory, and strategies of exclusion; 2) the panoptic approach including explicit control and privatisation of public space, the presence of explicit police, security guards, and CCTV for surveillance; 3) the management or regulatory approach with rules and regulations, temporal and spatial regulations, and CCTV as a management tool; and, 4) the animation or 'peopling' approach involving people's presence, people generators, activities, a welcoming ambience and accessibility. The first three are concerned with exclusion, and the last with inclusion, focusing on the more positive aspects of public space. In the case of traditional markets, traders' informal policing, employment of security guards, and the use of CCTV are important measures to promote safety and security, particularly in relation to the control of drug dealing in public spaces and young people creating nuisances (Worpole, 2007; Watson and Studdert, 2006).

The social atmosphere in markets is connected to consumer preferences or tastes according to their socio-cultural lifestyles (Clarke, 2005). Customers are no longer just local residents as markets embrace visitors and tourists. Williams (2002) argued that commerce and consumption are important in UK markets, as they continue to serve both deprived and affluent urban populations in their local areas, yet the economic needs of low-income people were still the primary purpose of many traditional markets.

The prime reason for visiting a traditional market is still to buy products at competitive prices, while the range of products and their quality is important (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Furthermore, consumer preferences of affluent shoppers in the period from 1998/1999 to 2003/2004 were increasingly for gentrified markets such as farmers' markets, craft markets,

Christmas markets, and French and German markets (the National Association of British Market Authorities(NABMA), 2002). Farmers' markets in London serve affluent middle-class people (Watson and Studdert, 2006).

### 3.2.3 Social activities in public space and traditional markets

While the main focus of traditional urban design is physical form as it relates to the physical and visual aspects of the urban environment, contemporary discussions in the field also focus on use, especially social activities in micro-space, to reveal not just the best conditions, but a critical assessment of the different aspects of physical space that produce a successful public place (Gehl, 1987; Whyte, 1980).

Whyte (1980, p. 21) states that activities in space are 'transitional', quickly changing from one to another, and generating variety around a 'mainstream in places' with pedestrian flows in and through public space. A complex relationship, referred to as 'triangulation', exists between traders and shoppers' social activities in markets whereby they generate further, more diverse activities. From the observation of micro-space, Whyte (1980) suggested a design code with physical elements such as levels of pavements, sitting places with both permanent and movable seats such as edges and flat surfaces, and informal elements, as well as attention to micro-climate.

Gehl (1987) focused on the activities in outdoor public space, and suggested three types of outdoor activity, i.e., necessary, optional and social activities. Necessary activity is 'activity to continue for life', taking place with approximate frequency whatever the conditions; optional activity constitutes inviting people to 'stop, sit, eat, and play, and engage in other activities'; while social activity includes children playing, greetings and conversations, communal activities of various kinds, and passive contact (simply seeing and hearing other people). In particular, the 'presence of others' is necessary for social activity, and social activity is 'resultant' from other forms of activity. More optional and subsequently social activities are produced in good environments, whereas necessary activities are enacted regardless of the environment (Gehl, 1987, pp. 9-14). In markets, trading and shopping are necessary activities, and sauntering while shopping is an optional activity which leads to social activities and extended stays in the market.

#### **Seating and protection from the weather**

Activities such as strolling, standing, and sitting indicate more opportunities for encounters and social interaction because the duration of time spent in public space is closely related to

opportunities for encounters with others. The longer people spend in outdoor public space, the more frequently they meet, talk and engage in social activity (Gehl, 1987). The time people spend also suggests that they are comfortable in the public space. In markets, seating and weather protection, where necessary and appropriate for gathering space, will meet their need for comfort and provide more opportunities for encounters and social activities.

Regarding the use of historic European cities where physical form has been maintained with little change, Gehl (2007; 2003; 1996) focused on the quality of the environment from an observation of activities, and suggested spatial control including users' appropriation of elements such as informal and formal seats, and also factors beyond physical space such as the control of traffic. Carmona et al. (2008) reconfirmed the synergy between human activity and physical form. The quality of the urban environment is affected by 'the streets, spaces, urban blocks, and key routes and connections that define the limits of external public space' (Carmona et al., 2008, p10), along with elements such as buildings, infrastructure and landscape. As amenity space for physical comfort in markets, Watson and Studdert (2006) call for the availability of seating (formal and informal), in close proximity to other amenities such as toilet facilities, climbing or play equipment for children, and local cafés or food stalls. For user groups such as the elderly, families with children, and disabled people, the physical space and layout of the market is important.

#### 3.2.4. The Practices of Everyday Life in traditional markets

Many authors have studied activities in public space and conceptualised their significance, both to the individual and also to the life of the city. Gehl spoke of the life between buildings: 'First life, then spaces, then buildings - the other way around never works' (Gehl, 1987, p.23). He also believed that the democratic principle of life in western society was strengthened by a successful public realm. In a society becoming steadily more privatized with private homes, cars, computers, offices and shopping centers, the public component of our lives is disappearing. It is more and more important to make the cities inviting, so we can meet our fellow citizens face to face and experience directly through our senses. Public life in good quality public spaces is an important part of a democratic life and a full life (Gehl, 2006, p. 29).

De Certeau (1984) believed that by walking around the city, one could witness the tactics of ordinary people in subverting authority, appropriating space for their own informal uses, and challenging the rule of the dominant groups. De Certeau described strategies as the regulations and the formal conventions of behaviour, overlaid on the confines of the fixed urban 'place' to produce the static environment. Tactics are employed by the users to turn the

'place' into a 'space' by their movement through it, or activities in it. For De Certeau, a place is made into a space by the dynamics of movement, use and activities. The activities of a market would augment those dynamics of public space, and blend with the tactics of the users to create a unique physical and temporal environment, that is the thing of memories. Markets, as sites of everyday activities, informal behaviour, and tactics by users to appropriate space for their needs, support the public social life of cities.

These authors regarded the life of the city in public space as the lifeblood of the community and the heart of democracy. It was therefore important to study how successful public spaces worked, to establish a means by which to design, manage and maintain them. Traditional markets in public space are part of this life of the city. To study their current status, and to carry out an in-depth review of two inner London traditional public markets will therefore make a contribution to the knowledge about contemporary public life in cities.

### 3.2.5 Social impact of Spatial Types on the Character of Traditional Markets

Markets in public spaces are affected by the quality of their local environment. As a result, this section will review the types of spaces that can affect a market's character, in both a physical and a psychological sense. Users can be discouraged from using a space that is no longer managed well and feels neglected (Watson, 2005). Similarly they can be discouraged from using a space that feels over-managed and too controlled, leading to self-segregation (Madanipour, 2010). Over-managed space feels exclusionary (Mitchell, 1995). Privatised space can easily become over-managed with an increased focus on safety and security (Zukin, 1995). Gentrification as a result of new residential or commercial developments can result in stratified space (Atkinson, 2005). Related to this is hijacked space where a space is taken over and made into a new type of space that does not represent the actual local community or is a caricature of its former self (Shaw et al., 2004); often this happens to attract tourists or for branding purposes.

In the case of markets in the UK, an important spatial quality affecting activities in open public space is 'slack space'. This is the extra space around the market stalls which occurs in and around markets, or empty stalls at the ends of streets which are used for informal seating (Holland et al., 2007; Dines et al., 2006). The locations of these informal seats affect use in favour of sitting more comfortably near market stalls. Eating also takes place in slack space, or extra open space, located around food stalls in the market.

Markets themselves are sometimes called third spaces (Oldenburg, 1999), like cafes, bars and restaurants where people can go to relax, shop, and socialise, as an alternate space to home or workplaces. Ideally, marketplaces need to be inclusionary spaces where diverse user groups can feel comfortable and welcome (Watson and Studdert, 2006).

Control over the character of an urban public space is not necessarily in the hands of public space management. Economic development in urban areas, resulting in eventual gentrification, is a driving force from which the complexity and diversification of contemporary public space has developed (Carr et al., 1992). Urban public space has therefore become 'stratified space', derived from the retreat or self-segregation of specific groups of users who no longer feel comfortable or welcome. It indicates a socio-economic divide in the local community arranged according to users' socio-economic status. In the UK, Watson and Studdert (2006) pointed out that the communities that markets serve reflect the socio-economic status of the user groups, for example, middle-class people in the local area.

Dines et al. (2006) argued that the traditional markets of the UK are characterised by multi- or inter-ethnicity where no single group dominates the multicultural space as these markets are a workplace where multi-ethnic groups need to associate regularly (Amin, 2002). This indicated little tension arising from ethnic diversity, despite the concern over 'contested space' where people retreat according to their feeling of discomfort in the presence of others. Rather, the traditional markets of the UK are characterised by social inclusion of people in terms of age, ethnicity or gender (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Watson and Studdert (2006), amongst others, have focused on markets as social public spaces that foster social inclusion. social mobility, community cohesion and a 'cosmopolitan civic environment' (Anderson, 2006).

Furthermore, the world class city phenomenon, in which London plays a prominent role, demands that urban environments be improved and enhanced to appeal to 'an increasingly well-off transnational bourgeoisie and a growing international tourist class'(Gonzalez, 2012, p967). Markets then become a consumer experience, and a focal point in retail-led regeneration projects. This can create a disconnect with the local community and endanger the sense of place and local identity in which markets play a vital role.

In a similar way, with reference to the tendency to provide commercialised public space, Atkinson (2003, p. 1830) argued that law and regulations tend to control and restrict the types of users, their access, movement, and activities within these spaces. He concluded that, to a certain extent, the exclusion of a minority is inevitable for a better quality of life for the

majority, and this is determined by the preferences of the majority regarding safety and security.

And the same results can happen with regeneration projects that involve traditional London markets, that are branded as multi-ethnic, describing them as having an 'exotic urban setting and atmosphere' due to the strong sense of its local ethnic community, so that they might attract tourists. However, this also changes the market's place identity and authenticity (Dines et al., 2006; Shaw et al., 2004). In the case of Brick Lane, Shaw et al. (2004) criticised this type of strategy and image-making for the sole purpose of creating a tourist attraction as this overlooks the needs of the actual users in the local community. This can contribute to disintegration in the inter-ethnic place identity of the local community. The assessment of all needs, including those of the local mixed community, is important for re-imaging strategies for all of London's traditional markets. However, increased consumption in regenerated markets can present new opportunities for London's markets which need to adapt to survive. Watson and Studdert (2006) insisted that the contexts of markets in the UK are changing in response to new consumption patterns, but they must remain fit for the needs of local communities.

The role of market management straddles two agendas for public space - one that focuses on the consumer experience where an enhanced public realm supports the market as a tourist attraction, and the community agenda that aims to support the market as the centre of the community, a resource for the local population, and a positive contribution to urban public space that is available to all. Nonetheless, under- and over-management may be linked to a broad concern about the spread of stratified space divided by class or socio-economic position. Such may be associated with exclusion of ethnic groups (Madanipour, 2010) or a long established community.

## **Conclusion**

Traditional markets contribute to a distinctive sense of place for the local and wider urban community. They assist in making an environment legible by being a landmark that is memorable as well animating public space with a positive public use, and local 'spirit of place'. But public spaces and particularly markets need to be managed to be inclusive and positive spaces. Different types of consumption may give rise to conflicts over the use of public space, disrupting a market's relationship with, and support for, marginal groups in the local community, especially when the management focuses on tourists to the detriment of local needs.



However, increased and more varied consumption patterns also offer opportunities for markets to survive and serve the needs of a more diverse local community as well as tourists. So management must carefully address the challenges of creating an equitable public space, that is a social centre for the community as well as providing shopping facilities. As Watson and Studdert (2006) have pointed out, both the psychological and economic needs of the diverse range of users of the public space and traditional markets need to be well served.

### 3.3 Physical Dimension of Public Space and Traditional Markets

This section looks into the tradition of creating and maintaining public space and place in the UK, and reviews discussions about public space use and activities in the urban design literature in order to understand the physical setting of markets. Regarding use or activities, local context is an important factor for traditional markets operating in diverse spatial environments, while visual and aesthetic aspects of space are also critical for markets. This discussion also adds physical elements and layout as an aspect of London's markets, responding to the market's functional activities. Public space is the setting for public life. It is a 'physical manifestation of public life within the physical boundary of space ... [and it is a] 'common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities' (Carr et al., 1992, p. XI). Place is 'not just a specific space, but all the activities and events that make it [public life] possible' (Buchanan, 1988, p. 70).

#### 3.3.1 Visual & aesthetic aspects of public space

The urban design tradition of making public space and place has synthesized two approaches, 'visual and aesthetic matters' and 'social setting', which combine to make the physical setting for social life (Carmona et al., 2003; Lillebye, 2001; Madanipour, 1999). The visual and aesthetic aspects of, or visual pleasure provided by, the urban environment, is collectively produced by buildings and other physical elements such as street patterns through their interplay and contrasts: for example, in Sitte's 'picturesque' approach to controlling artistic principles of enclosure, freestanding sculptural mass, shape, and monument (Rapport, 1990), and in Cullen's townscape considering the connection between the form of space and movement systems as a public space network (Cullen, 1964, p. 10). For aesthetic experience related to the social aspect of human activity, Krier (1984) aligned physical space with physical form in three dimensions, which has been discussed in terms of complex profiles such as

variation in width, turns and twists, subspaces, projections, views, surfaces and element, and proposed complex patterns of routes and sequences of space (Moughin, 2003; Rapport, 1990).

In the Modernist era, the visual and aesthetic tradition of urban design moved towards the functional needs of society, as exemplified by Le Corbusier's emphasis on cleanness, accessibility, and vehicle movement in street design (Le Corbusier, 1953). Criticising the Modernist movement, the social aspects of open space became a greater focus in urban design since Jacobs (1961) championed the use of streets by people rather than cars, which contributed to the social vitality in American cities. Jacobs (1961) pointed out that people move for their own needs, shaping the public life of streets. The social vitality arising from use and activities creates the cultural identity of a city. Furthermore, considering people's perceptions and mental images of public space, Lynch (1960) challenged 'the notion of exclusive and elitist concern' in traditional planning and insisted that 'pleasure in urban environments was a commonplace experience' (Carmona et al., 2003, p. 7). Moughtin (2003) suggested a synthetic approach combining physical space, and perceptions about a sense of enclosure and comfort, when considering the functional aspects of human activity in urban design. Physical and visual aspects are important for markets. The shape and size of buildings and physical elements, which have been integrated historically into the marketplace, can provide feelings of comfort for users.

### 3.3.2 Use or activities in public space: movement

Movement is a means of experiencing space, and can enhance economic activity. Complex relationships between necessary, optional and social activities produce activities such as walking, standing and sitting, which are opportunities for encounters by extending the duration of stay in public spaces such as marketplaces. This then leads to a better sense of place, attachment and belonging in the community.

Traditional markets have developed in the existing streets or open urban spaces in cities, and movement is a means to access and experience these market spaces. Focusing on the integral relationship of movement and physical form, Hillier (2007; 2002) noted that movement is determined by the spatial configuration or physical structure of a settlement which dictates the configuration of urban space.

Changes to land uses are closely related to the changes in movement patterns, whilst the by-products of movement are static and social activities in space. Visual permeability as well as land uses influence pedestrian movement densities and, accordingly, encounter rates (Hiller,

2002). Movement to and from the land uses and shops around markets can also be another attraction for market users themselves, creating greater densities of movement and activity in the area.

Hass-Klau (1999) and Moudon (1987) insisted that street layout should give priority to pedestrians, free from the impact of traffic. Markets within walking distance from home or work can help to reduce traffic. Additionally, traffic control around markets can be an effective tool for market management to enhance the pedestrian market experience.

### 3.3.3 Accessibility and permeability of London's markets

Lynch (1981) claimed that physical access is critical for people's right of access to enter public space without barriers or restriction by regulation. Carr et al. (1992, p. 138) expanded Lynch's ideas, and pointed out that freedom of access to public space is a basic requirement, and presented three forms of access such as '... visual access (visibility) which helps judge whether they would feel comfortable, welcome and safe there'; 'symbolic access which is cues which can be animate or inanimate'; and 'physical access which is being physically available to the public' (Carr et al., 1992, p138).

Furthermore, accessibility is also connected to permeability, which is associated with street patterns and public space networks in terms of the relationship between space and movement. Lynch (1981, p. 157) explained that permeability is the ability of people to 'move at will from one setting to another, or linger while deciding to do so', and that 'activity schedules may also be manipulated in order to compartmentalise behaviour in time'. For accessibility related to an easy approach to a market, the physical layout of the site and stalls is important, allowing people to walk easily around and through the marketplace. An attractive appearance, welcoming atmosphere and cleanliness are important for visual aesthetics, permeability and accessibility.

Market locations are deeply related to, and affected by, the local context as it determines the ease of access and legibility of a market. In the 17th and 18th centuries, traditional markets in Western Europe were located in symbolic and central places such as courtyards in front of churches, at crossroads, or areas in which people could gather easily and goods could be redistributed effectively. In medieval European towns, markets occupied space along the walls of a cathedral, while the Agora in Athens and the Forum in Rome were central market spaces as well as spaces for public life (Zukin, 1995; Buie, 2000).

Considerations such as walking distance or proximity to public transport, availability of nearby cafés or other food outlets, and proximity to the town centre, transport links, parking provision, all-purpose shops, health centres, public libraries, post offices and community facilities such as mosques and schools catering especially for ethnic groups as social and cultural linkages are all important for the use of markets (Watson and Studdert, 2006; Dines et al., 2006). This is because people shop in markets as part of their everyday activities so that shopping on the way to or from other activities makes life easier - extra trips or long diversions are not necessary when markets are sited in central, easily accessible locations.

## **Conclusion**

Physical and visual aspects of public space are important to public life in markets. Ease of movement, good connectivity, accessibility and permeability, and market amenities are also important qualities for markets. The nature of the surrounding local context is critical, so that markets can be within walking distance to local residences and workplaces, in close proximity to public transport, with availability of nearby cafés or other food outlets, and close to the town centre with transport links, parking provision, and other facilities. The tradition of place making in public space uses an interdisciplinary approach with visual and aesthetic considerations, creating a physical setting for social life, which can be achieved by learning lessons from use and best practice, in response to users' preferences.

To support optimal market use and activities, there is the need for informal and formal seats and weather protection. Furthermore, qualities of public space, such as good connectivity, accessibility, and permeability, attract people to market sites. Management can influence the physicality of the market, and affect its qualities, using measures that enhance a sense of wellbeing and comfort, creating a positive perception of safety and security by ensuring a clean, attractive marketplace. This can contribute to the economic and social viability of the market.

## **3.4 The Temporal Dimension of Public Space and Patterns of Market Use**

The focus on the temporal dimension allows an examination of the daily experiences of users of public space and the impact of the changes in the urban environment on traditional markets. Various authors focus on different aspects of this time/ space relationship as it affects

traditional markets. Temporality is discussed in terms of London's traditional markets. Times of market operation need to reflect timings that are convenient to the various user groups, and this depends on users' lifestyles. Issues of the adaptability of markets over the years, and the changing patterns of use by both shoppers and traders will also be reviewed.

### 3.4.1 Patterns of Use in Traditional Markets

People use public space to meet their needs, and regular movement and activities which occur in the same place with the rituals of morning, afternoon, evening and late night exemplify the healthy character of a public place (Jacobs, 1961, p.386). The analysis of rhythms, or regular and cyclical patterns of behaviour, is an important tool to understand how people use public space together (Worpole, 2007). Lefebvre, mentioned in chapter 2, described one method that could be used to analyse patterns of uses in space through time with rhythm-analysis, in relation to the everyday practices of life in public space or in ordinary public places in cities. Holland et al. (2007) argued that different social groups use different types of public space in different ways and to different rhythms. Traditional markets in the UK accommodate different rhythms of behaviour and user groups such as university students during school days and families on weekends, as well as women and elderly people during weekdays (Watson and Studdert, 2006). People's use of markets is also structured by their lifestyles and needs, so different user groups establish different rhythms of market use. Market management must be aware of these so that the market can adequately address these different needs and patterns of behaviour.

### 3.4.2 Times of operation of London's traditional markets

There is a relationship between the different durations of people's activities, and the rate of change in the urban environment. Focusing on the response of physical space to use, Carmona et al. (2008, p.11) suggested a 'kit of parts' which targets quality and categorises the different elements of the kit of parts according to time frames. Physical form, such as buildings and infrastructure, tend to change slowly while elements of the landscape change more quickly and have 'the most decisive short-term impact'. The use of London's markets is changing daily and there is a short-term impact on the environment. The times of operation of London's markets are related to the trend to casual use in urban markets generally. The markets may be influenced by local businesses's opening hours responding to the changing lifestyles in society.

The '24-hour city' is a concept used in city planning, which aims to encourage greater use of the city by enabling urban night-time activity. This was a response to the trend to expand the

operation of urban life, now limited by time restrictions on public uses, in order to realise the potential of the '24 hour society' (Kretzman, 1999). Driven by changing lifestyles, businesses such as cafés and shops, extended their hours of operations for the supply of services. However, the practice of longer opening hours has an effect on public safety and cleanliness, and this requires additional management and maintenance of the public realm (Turner, 2005).

In the UK, markets in casual use dealing with antiques, farm produce, and artisan food, have increased in number (Watson and Studdert, 2006), which may be related to affluent people's preferences. Markets may also be affected by changing lifestyles, and opening hours are being adjusted to address different user groups' needs and their lifestyle rhythms of activity. Times of operation can be used as a tool to expand market use. In the case of traditional markets in Western Europe, times of operation in the past were defined by religious festivals, fair days, public events and holidays, which were not days of work (Buie, 1996; Zukin, 1991). However, times of operation of urban markets range from permanent daily and casual to temporary market use. A spectrum exists in terms of the pattern of periodicity in market operations (Project for Public Space (PPS), 2003a).

Furthermore, the times of operation are related to the types of traders and depend on their economic motives. The socio-economic characteristics of traders have been studied in the context of developing countries, where markets have been understood as constituting an informal economy, generating profit and/or incomes. Dewar and Watson (1990, p.169), for example, noted that traders used markets primarily for self-employment as their only means of survival, although markets also provide opportunities for small business ventures in the informal sector, defined as 'complementary to the formal sector'. Traders' economic motives in the informal economy are revealed by their types of employment. Traders are mostly involved in small-scale, self-generated activity as 'self-employed workers and non-wage workers such as owners and owner-operators of informal enterprises' (Dewar and Watson, 1990, p.21).

The types of traders in London's markets can be compared to those in the markets of the USA (PPS, 2003a, 2003b). In such contexts, traders use the informal economy as a source of their income for their survival, especially where there is an increase of new immigrants (Cross, 2000). Furthermore, their motives for choosing to run a market stall are not only to provide family income but also to create business opportunities that will eventually provide upward mobility into the formal work sector (PPS, 2003a). The extended economic motives in developed countries are reflected in the types of traders, such as casual and full-time traders, owners

with employees, and traders visiting multiple markets (PPS, 2003b). This establishes a particular pattern of use in markets; a declining market may see traders splitting their time between various markets in order to earn a living, while a thriving market will have mostly full-time traders who can earn a living from one market site.

Time is related to the collision and separation of people and encounters, and can be managed for the benefit of all who use the public space. In cities, planning of mixed-use developments in local areas around markets can support and foster continual vitality in streets and public spaces (Jacobs, 1961; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000). Areas with more than one primary use, short block sizes, streets with animated corners, buildings of different ages and conditions, and a high density of people, tend to support a greater diversity and vitality in a district. These factors support rhythms of activities overlapping in time, whereas a mono-functional area results in only 'day-time levels of activity', by families and elderly people in residential areas, for example. Small-scale secondary activities are best sustained by a mix of primary uses (Jacobs, 1961, pp.162–3). The discussion suggests that, in an urban area where there are mixed-use developments, the diverse patterns of use support a thriving market.

Lifestyle patterns are derived from work routines and from domestic life situations especially emanating from mixed-use developments in local areas. Markets may be integrated with semi-public uses such as coffee shops, cafes, bars, and bookstores that accommodate a diverse neighbourhood social life by being open beyond office hours. These semi-public settings are a 'third place' providing sites for social experiences between the other two realms of work, and home, according to contemporary lifestyles in western society. The core qualities of these services are also suggested by the provision of neutral ground with access mostly to patrons, being somewhat inclusive, accessible without membership, with psychological comfort, and allowing free conversation as in the democratic public realm (Oldenburg, 1999, pp. 188-208). These uses are compatible with, and complementary to markets. However, markets are still distinguished by their public accessibility and more inclusive social atmosphere.

### 3.4.3 Time Management in Traditional Markets

Time management is one of the tools to control conflict over uses in public space, ensuring the right to use public space by the majority, by encouraging or separating activities and encounters. For market management, in order to influence activities to ensure optimal use of the marketplace, it is important to understand actual rhythms of use. 'Time-signal' or 'time legibility' is a mechanism to illustrate or record repeated uses taking place in a specific time period (Lynch, 1972, p. 203). This is important for the management of a public place because

an activity may be accepted by people once they recognise its frequent and repeated occurrence.

Time management aims to prevent conflicts by controlling activity, such as separating periods of congestion using regulations governing periods of time, or encouraging and allowing use at a certain time (Lynch, 1981). Significant uses, such as food stalls, can boost market vitality by attracting people thereby supporting the primary use (Whyte, 1980). Therefore, the location of food stalls is critical in the market layout as they are linchpin uses that attract people (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Montgomery (1998, p.104) argued that 'soft' infrastructure such as planned programmes, events, and cultural activities across a range of times and locations, can encourage activity at different times in streets and public spaces. This can also be applied to markets to introduce and encourage market use. Temporary events provide services and add interest to the market environment.

### 3.4.4 Adaptability

Considering the changing economic and social fabric of the local urban context for all marketplaces, adaptability is an important quality and is defined as 'the capacity of urban buildings, neighbourhoods and public spaces to adapt to changing needs and demands' (the New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, 2005, p.16). As mentioned in the opening quote in chapter 1, adaptability is a key and crucial characteristic for markets, to enable them to renegotiate their role in the cities of the 21st century. But it is adaptability on many levels, and over the short, medium and long term that is required.

Adaptability is significant as it concerns the ability of a place to change to produce a setting that is integrated with new developments and useful to users, rather than never changing and becoming obsolete (Lynch, 1972). Adaptability is connected to the quality of the local environment in terms of a 'good fit' by responding positively to the changes in context, avoiding mismatches of use, or in the case of markets, times of operation or types of products being sold (Lynch, 1972). Loe (2000) also stressed that adaptability means creating a match between the surrounding environmental and social needs to support greater sustainability over time.

Continuity of a place in terms of its identity and meaning involves more than its physical aspects. With reference to changes to a market place over time, obsolescence of the physical space or its location could occur. Obsolescence is classified in several ways: by physical or structural obsolescence which concerns obsolescence of the building fabric itself; functional



obsolescence where a building's layout and services are no longer appropriate for its current use; locational obsolescence which depends on surrounding land use, and whether the site responds to the demands or needs of new uses which are changing more quickly in the local context; legal obsolescence; and image/ style obsolescence (Carmona et al., 2003).

For a 'responsive environment' that continues to adapt over time, 'robustness' is the ability of physical space to accommodate change in use without significant change in its physical form, thereby resisting functional obsolescence (Bentley et al., 1984). For example, a responsive environment is created by multi-functionalism that allows a variety of activities to take place simultaneously or at varying, non-conflicting times. Street markets are a good example of the multi-functional use of public space as they offer both an economic and a social function at certain times of the day and for certain days of the week.

Traditional markets in the UK face locational obsolescence which is influenced by economic and social change in the local area, for example, with the advent of formal shopping facilities which creates competition for the markets (Watson and Studdert, 2006). There is an indication that markets are adapting to these new consumer preferences. Some markets affected by gentrification are adapting to new consumer preferences for farmers' markets, craft markets, Christmas markets, French and German markets which have increased in number, while some traditional markets that have not adapted, have been in decline. This is seen in the occupancy rate of stalls in traditional markets which has decreased from 79% to 75% in the period from 1998/1999 to 2003/2004 (the National Association of British Market Authorities (NAMBA), 2005).

## **Conclusion**

Time is a tool that allows the measurement of changes in the use of public space as the result of human activity. Activities can change quickly while physical structures may not adapt to all of these changes. Some markets have survived because they do not have permanent structures but they do have permanent functions within their local environment. Adapting to users changing needs by adapting the products they sell seems to be why markets have persisted. They have contributed to the social character of their environment rather than to the physical character in a permanent way.

As mentioned in chapter 2, activity represents individual choices generating subjective experiences and is expressed in space and time, and with repetition, develops into patterns of behaviour. Collective patterns of activity contribute to public life in the city, and enliven public

spaces. Through changes in society, new behaviour creates new patterns and this is integrated into existing patterns of behaviour. Users share similar patterns and share the collective meaning of belonging and attachment. The processes of change in local spaces over time prove that there is continuity and familiarity of place, particularly in the face of pressure from globalisation which seeks to make all places the same. Markets generate their own patterns of use, and contribute to both the surrounding patterns in a local environment and the local distinctiveness that strengthens a sense of place.

London's markets are located in ordinary public spaces, where various patterns of behaviour from diverse user groups have been integrated. The times of operation of London's markets may be affected by contemporary lifestyles and should therefore adapt to these new patterns of use in order to remain relevant. Furthermore, the operation of London's markets should be controlled by time management, which programmes or coordinates activities to encourage or separate functions and encounters in order to provide the best market experience.

The times of market operations also need to satisfy the needs of various types of traders who have a range of economic motives for running a market stall, from the need to earn a family income for survival to making a profit as an economically successful business or group of businesses as some traders have more stalls in other markets as well as shops located in market areas. When time management supports common patterns of use, it permits the effective capacity of the setting to be realised and satisfies changing needs. This illustrates adaptability in the use of urban public space, preserving the fit between markets and community needs, the continuity in its function of commerce, and in the meaning and value that it has for community.

### 3.5 Other Perspectives on Public Space

There are many ways to view public space, and for the purposes of this research, Neal (2010)'s three perspectives were useful in establishing the hybrid role of public space management between the legal/economic, socio/spatial, and political perspectives. This is another lens through which to evaluate the role and importance of market management. In the legal/economic perspective, Neal refers to the American views on public space, but these provide some insights into the UK experience as well. Open access for all, as in the UK, and tolerance for many types of informal behaviour are fundamental principles: 'with expressive activity limited only in very narrow cases' (Neal, 2010, p1). Neal cites the street and the park as

the most public of the US public spaces, and this is also true of the UK. Traditional markets were located in streets or public spaces directly off streets, so this reinforces the importance of the street as the site for public life in public space.

In the economic perspective, public space is viewed as a type of public good in western society. It is paid for by the tax payer, and 'is a type of public good ... that individuals cannot be prevented from using (i.e. non-excludable) and for which one individual's consumption does not diminish its potential consumption by others (i.e. non-rivalrous)' (Neal, 2010, p 2). Neal mentions however how very popular public spaces that become overly congested can become subject to greater regulation and control thereby becoming more exclusive, less inclusive, and more like private space. This then suggests the concept of the privatisation of public space. In the UK, however, there is also the fact that publicly accessible space is provided increasingly by private developers in exchange for increased development rights. This type of publicly accessible space is owned and managed privately. Over-management of these types of spaces seems to be the norm, with exclusion of marginal groups being commonplace.

The socio-spatial perspective focuses on the reported beneficial effects of successful public spaces and places on their users and the community. Through both design and management, places can provide their users with a sense of well-being and belonging. In this perspective urban design is seen as having four approaches to public space (Neal, 2010): 1) the pragmatic approach driven by costing and specific briefs for or from developers, 2) as a problem solving exercise, with reference to Lynch, Jacobs and Whyte who believed that social problems had causes and solutions in spatial form; 3) urban design as art creating aesthetically pleasing spaces; and 4) urban design as community engagement with all stakeholders deciding on the brief for the public space. Typological analysis is recommended as a way of analysing and understanding successful public space. In this perspective, one of the key issues, which is particularly relevant to this research based in inner London, is that public spaces evolve. Certainly markets need to adapt to survive, so the historical evolution of public space and the markets within them is an important consideration.

In the political perspective, the concepts of exclusion and marginalisation are relevant when considering public space (Madanipour, 2004). In a democracy, it is important to balance the needs of the majority with those of marginal groups seeking access and use of public space. Stratified spaces which, as discussed earlier, are the result of economic development and gentrification, are considered under this perspective. Markets, in adapting to the needs of new,

more affluent users, struggle to maintain their relationship and responsibility to low income users (Gonzalez and Waley, 2012). This is an on-going challenge for market management.

Another aspect of the political perspective is exclusion related to behaviour. It has been discussed that informal but acceptable behaviour can be welcomed in markets, and actually adds to their sense of diversity. However, over-management can also restrict the types of behaviour that is deemed acceptable, making spaces bland, less diverse and less representative of the surrounding communities. In controlled environments, the sense of diverse 'publics' is narrowed (Ruppert, 2006).

**Table 3A Neal (2010)'s summary of the main aspects of the three perspectives, and market management**

	Legal/economic	Socio/spatial	Political
*Major topics	Public space principles	Character of the marketplace, mental maps, segregation, social exclusion	Power & control
	Public good	Place identity	Exclusion
	BIDS		Privatisation
*Archetypal focal point	Public accommodation	The urban Streetscape	Contested space
*Attitude toward public space	Neutral	Optimistic	Critical
*Future of public space	Agnostic	Evolving	Disappearing
*Practical implications	Funding mechanisms	Design principles	Activism
*Foundational scholars	Samuelson, Habermas	Jacobs, Gehl, Whyte	Lefebvre
*Market management	Compliance with regulations and legislation; ensuring economic viability	Social life of the marketplace	Resolving tensions, conflicts over uses and ensuring access for all users

Based on 'Summary of the perspectives on public space' table by Neal (2010) p2 - amended to address this research

The final conclusions are that the socio-spatial perspective tends to dominate public space approaches so that the form and aesthetics of the space become the focus rather than the social aspect and activities in public space. Traditional markets are then even more important as a traditional social and economic use of public space, and a use that builds community. The table below, based on Neal's summary, illustrates the main aspects of the three perspectives, and adds market management to this list.

### 3.6 Management as an Urban Design Dimension

London's markets are successful as a result of their management. In past centuries, when markets were the only local shopping facility in cities, they could be operated by the traders and the community. Now, however, in a global city like London, market management is very important to ensure their economic and social viability. Pressures from globalisation, gentrification, technology that is changing the way we shop, and general economic conditions and pressures, mean that strategic planning and decision-making are crucial for successful market operations.

In urban design, activities and their relationship to public space, regulatory regimes, local context, and changes over time, suggest the important role of public space management. Since the size, shape or aesthetic qualities of public space have not always enhanced and supported a diverse public life, some researchers have focused on typologies of public space to gain a better understanding of the relationship between functions and forms (Marcus and Francis, 1998; Carr et al., 1992; Alexander, 1977). Carr et al. (1992) confirmed that the forms and functions of public space are continually evolving. Some types of public space have disappeared but others have emerged which highlights the importance of management (Carmona et al., 2008).

#### 3.6.1 Management of markets as public space

Public space management and its practices have seen only limited discussion in the academic literature. Lynch (1981) suggested five types of spatial control in order to support good city form. They are; users' use and actions, behaving freely; users' appropriation of space; modification of space (permanent); disposition (permanent and transferable); and, legally defined ownership by law or contract (Lynch, 1981, p. 205-207). Regarding social control, Lynch (1981) also suggested 'dynamics' responding to on-going changes over time from context. Highlighting the human dimension of use, needs, rights and meanings in public space, Carr et al. (1992) insisted that inclusive and effective management is needed, with management having the appropriate motivations or attitudes, adequate funding, and good management skills that focus on programming activities, with continuing adjustment to adapt to change, while working together with stakeholders, and employing a regular means of monitoring, and evaluating user responses to market operations.

Market management is important on two levels - the strategic and the practical (operational) (Watson and Studdert, 2007). Market management must take a long term, broad view of the

needs of both the market traders and the customers, in a rapidly changing and complex urban environment within a global city context. Issues such as the type, quality and price of the produce and products that are acceptable to a diverse range of shoppers, marketing, branding, and collaboration with all stakeholders, must be addressed by management. On a practical level, the market managers must understand the market environment - the types of shoppers and traders, the range of products, the local area - its history and demographics, the way in which the market connects with the wider community, its meaning to the community as a centre of activity and to the larger city, and the immediate needs of all stakeholders in order to keep the market functioning optimally. This means that the licensing system, stall tenure and layout, signage, cleaning regime - with appropriate timing and frequency, effective policing and surveillance, optimum comfort levels, lighting, and perception of safety about the market environment by users, are all known and understood by the manager.

In urban design terms, the manager is not only controlling the activities of the market, ensuring compliance with regulations, but facilitating market operations to ensure optimal and effective use of the public space, and its success as a place. There may be a further question about whether management can affect the social aspect of the market more easily and with greater impact than the economic one and so should focus concerted attention on making the marketplace the best social space possible. According to Carr, Gehl, White and others, the social life of public space is the key to a vibrant and democratic city. In that way, the most positive influence will be made on the economic aspect of the marketplace by maintaining a vibrant social environment which draws users because of the positive and welcoming atmosphere and facilities. This then justifies an exploration of the social life of the case study markets to reveal the ways in which management might have the greatest impact.

### 3.6.2 Market management models

When it comes to public space management in the UK, partnership is an institutional tool for governance, used to facilitate the creation of public space for the public good and to nurture sustainable communities. Public sector reform in the 1980s and early 1990s addressed problems of fragmentation of responsibilities in local government and a lack of public investment in urban facilities such as public markets (De Magalhaes and Carmona, 2006). At the local level, public space management arrangements were complex and overlapping, involving owners, users, service providers, agencies, and the public, private and voluntary sectors. Against these fragmented responsibilities, cross-sectoral approaches and more

coordinated actions were needed (Carmona et al., 2008; De Magalhaes and Carmona, 2006). Market management appeared to benefit from this partnership approach to varying degrees.

A report by the government's Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) entitled *Retail markets: management models* (2010) lists eight management models, labelled according to the organisation or mechanism of management: local authority, private, trader, partnership, arms-length, social/community enterprise, voluntary sector, and shared management. This provides a clear overview of the types of market management approaches available and in use in UK cities like London.

Carmona et al. (2008) categorise the public space management models as state-centred, market-centred, or community-centred, with the four areas of responsibility for management being regulation, maintenance, investment, and coordination with all stakeholders. The strengths or weaknesses of the models seem to depend on availability of resources and investment, and the attitudes to social and policy issues. The public sector, especially local government, identify the social / political agenda for public markets as a public good, and they focus on routine services of maintenance to meet their targets and concerns, but do not provide enhancements to the marketplace to boost the overall quality. Private sector management considers economic value and focuses on cost efficiency or benefits. TCM (Town Centre Management) is motivated by quality and vitality and delivers services as a semi-independent body in cooperation with the local authority and retail partners in the local area (Carmona et al., 2008). Community groups or trusts attempt to balance community, public and private interest for the benefit of the market but may lack resources.

### 3.6.3 Assessing Market Management

The following criteria for assessing an effective market management system has been developed from the concepts reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. Market management aims to enhance and support social vitality and economic viability. In order to do this, what is the role of, and what are the tasks that must be undertaken by, market management? These lists establish the focus for the case study investigations and are the important issues and areas being investigated. These are the components of the 'how' answer to the research question.

1 Investigation of a market's social environment, according to :

- Carr - comfort
- relevance
- perception of safety

meaning

events

Jacobs - activities, life in the street - vitality

Carmona - public space management & market management models

Gehl - activities in public space contributing to the public life of cities

De Certeau - tactics of the users

Whyte - activities in public space - spatial elements

Lefebvre - rhythms of use - rhythm-analysis

Watson and Studdert- types of public life – forms and qualities affecting successful markets

## 2 Investigation of the economic aspect of traditional markets :

- viability of the trading

  - need for enough shoppers

  - relevant/appropriate product range

  - marketing, branding, communication

- logistics of trading

  - types of stall licences

  - tenure arrangements for stalls

  - opening hours

  - opening days in the week

  - communications regime - who needs to communicate with whom

  - marketing / branding

  - quality control of products

  - location of operating stalls

  - location of vacant stalls

  - congestion charge affecting traders' access to the marketplace

  - parking for traders

  - facilities for traders

## 3 investigation of users experience of the marketplace

- comfort - seating

  - protection from weather

  - amenities like public toilets

- legibility of the environment



- access from transport nodes
- access from main streets - gateways
- signage along access routes
- special events in or around the market
- inclusion of the market on conducted walks

4 For managers specifically, what qualities are needed:

- experience of running a market
- skills in management - business plan, social & cultural strategies
- understanding of the market and the community
- leadership
- negotiation skills
- knowledge of the wider political environment
- knowledge of the retail environment in London
- sensitivity to the social character of the community

In the marketplace, there is the market as the economic focus, the users and the local communities as the social focus, and the public space as the urban design focus.

### 3.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this research focuses on three aspects of traditional markets suggested by key concepts from the academic literature on public space, public life in public space, and its management.

These aspects are:

1) the social and economic activities and uses that take place in markets: USE, 2) the MANAGEMENT of the market and the public space of the marketplace, 3) the physical form & context of the marketplace - referred to as its PHYSICALITY

From the empirical research on social interaction in traditional markets in the UK, Watson and Studdert (2006) recommended the forms and qualities which affect the success of markets as public space in three categories; economic context, locational and physical attributes, and management and planning, which includes the creation of a vision for the market, with a strategy for its future development. In this study, the important factors for a successful market

derived from the multi-dimensional discussions were summarised into six qualities 1) types, quality, and range of products for a competitive price, 2) location and accessibility, 3) responsive management, 4) surrounding Land uses, 5) legibility of the market environment, and 6) amenities.

Markets support both economic and social activities so it is the uses and activities in public space that are the key considerations. Both Carr et al. (1992) and Carmona et al. (2008) stress the importance of the social and functional dimensions of public space, and the role of management in realising the ideals of public space for all, with universal access. These views are relevant to markets as part of the urban public realm. Beside the social and psychological importance of public space, Carr et al. (1992) focus on design and management, but in terms of inner London's traditional markets, design is not as important as the existing historical urban form of the marketplace and the character of the local context affecting the nature of the local environment. Carmona et al. (2008) focus on the management of public space as a key requirement for its success as a public place. Therefore market management, as a subset of public space management, became the key focus for this research.

How does market management ensure economic and social vitality and viability in London's traditional markets, and respond to challenges, tensions, and opportunities? The diagram on the next page illustrates the three elements of the conceptual framework. As the research question highlights, the focus of this investigation is on how market management facilitates and supports a modern, thriving, inner city market. The criteria for the analysis are derived from the following authors:

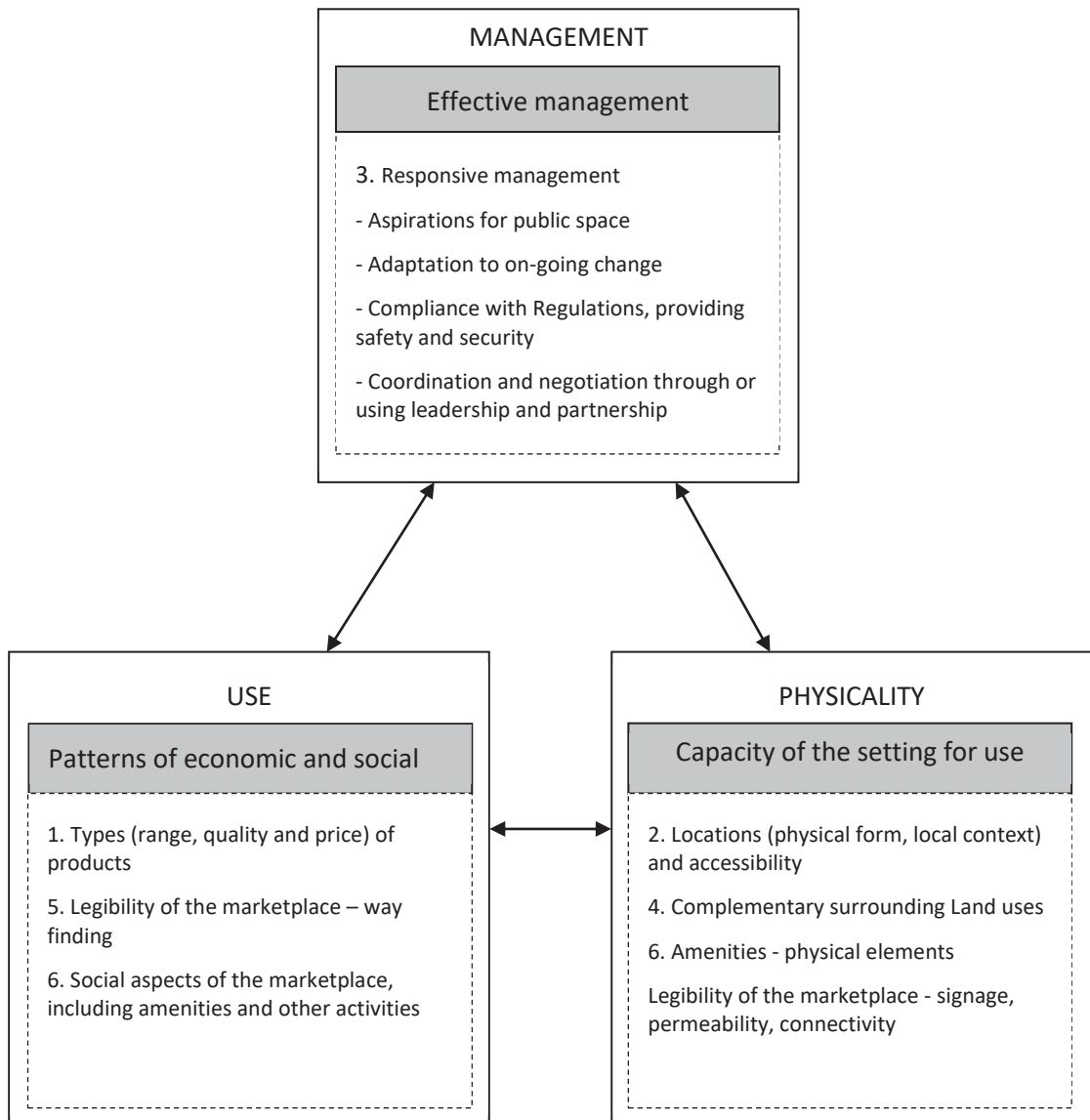
Social life in public space - Lynch, Carr, Gehl, Whyte, Jacobs

Management of public space - Lynch, Carmona, Carr and Francis

The relationships between use and space shift over time and management should respond to on-going tensions and adapt to the changes. Particularly in the case of London's traditional markets which are spaces for commerce and social interaction, both economic viability and social vitality are important. Although management's pursuit of economic growth can lead to negative impacts on aspects of the social space such as exclusion, privatisation and segregation, a balance between economic viability and social vitality can be achieved through their dynamic relationship. The fieldwork will therefore use methodologies suggested and used by these authors - of non-participant observation, photographic studies, time and movement studies, user questionnaires, and interviews with key stakeholders (regular shoppers, traders and

managers) - to establish why and how people use the marketplace, and details of management practices.

**Figure 3-1. Conceptual Framework Diagram**



### 3.8 Conclusions

This chapter reviewed the concepts related to the more practical aspects of public space, public life and traditional markets in the contemporary western city using the multiple urban design dimensions focusing on the social, physical, temporal and management aspects of public space. Additionally, the three perspectives offered by Neal focus on the more legal and

political aspects of contemporary public space in western society. Together these provide a comprehensive view of the importance of public space in city life, of markets that operate as a legitimate and traditional use within the public realm, and their management.

In the social dimension, urban public spaces are socially constructed. Changes in the local context introduce new users, and public spaces are reshaped by the processes of adapting to them. Community emerges as a by-product of the socio-cultural processes of public life based on individuals' subjective experiences and psychological needs to have social relationships freely in the presence of others. The presence of a diverse and changing community challenges both the notion of the civic realm available equally for all people and of community which is not a collective whole but is constituted by different groups of users. It is apparent that, in a multi-cultural global city such as London, there is both a community of difference (Young, 1990) and multiple publics (Fraser, 1990) that inhabit and use the public realm.

London's markets are public spaces that serve diverse needs for consumption, and social interaction, and facilitate unexpected encounters among a wide range of users of differing socio-economic classes. Market users are free to choose whether to retreat from or embrace routine encounters, depending on the feeling of comfort and pleasure they derive from the social atmosphere and interaction on offer. From such encounters and the wider social experience in markets, social value is created through a sense of belonging, and attachment, promoting community cohesion and social wellbeing.

Furthermore, management plays an essential role in supporting the socio-economic and socio-cultural processes that shape the markets. London's markets may themselves be stratified spaces where a sense of community bridges age, gender and ethnicity but is limited by the bounds of socio-economic status. In particular, the introduction of affluent, middle-class people into local areas in London has been accelerated with the rise of globalisation resulting in gentrification of local neighbourhoods, and this has been further facilitated by local government policies promoting residential and commercial development in London. Middle class preferences for higher-level consumption and for a homogenous social neighbourhood provided by a gentrified community mean that gentrification may intensify the stratification of spaces.

Under-management is associated with neglected space and unmet needs, and leads to less use of public space; while exclusionary, homogenised and privatised spaces are the hallmarks of over-management in which attempts to control the social atmosphere of a public space can affect levels of consumption. Balanced management plays a significant economic role in

relation to consumption in public space such as in traditional markets, as it may favour affluent users, but it can also produce safe, secure, vital public space.

In the physical dimension, the shaping of urban public space and place is achieved through a synthetic approach combining aesthetic and social considerations about the setting. Through changes in local contexts, processes to appropriate space for use may contribute to a rebalancing of people's uses, needs and rights. A complementary management approach that acknowledges the social dimension is critical in the face of gentrification; particularly to maintain public space accessible to all people. Furthermore, experience of public space develops through activities which provide opportunities for encounters. The economic, social and functional aspects of public space are therefore interconnected and interdependent. The marketplace facilitates these opportunities for encounters.

UK markets are social settings that are sensitive to their local context, as they link together users economically, socially and culturally. The various spatial types of market sites, such as streets, covered spaces, indoor spaces, private outdoor spaces, and markets on borrowed non-market spaces, suggest that management is essential to ensure people's rights to access and use markets, regardless of their location or ownership. Physicality of markets includes their form and urban context, land usage around the market, market layout, accessibility, connectivity, movement routes into and through the market, provision of both informal and formal seats, and weather protection. A particular characteristic of markets is the presence of 'slack space', which also relates to the capacity of the setting to respond to informal use and which is space that does not have a formally designated use, and can be adapted to meet the needs of different users at different times.

Furthermore, the physicality of London's markets is affected by management which is governed by policies. Regarding the qualities addressed by the policies relevant to London's markets, management can encourage positive perceptions of safety, security, accessibility, permeability, connectivity, and legibility for a better sense of place, using security guards, CCTV, physical barriers, traffic calming measures such as a layout that gives priority to pedestrians, and appropriate and well-placed signage. The local context can change with the introduction of new high-quality commercial and cultural amenities, bringing a focus on aesthetics and commercial or leisure infrastructure such as restaurants, bars and cafes. This change may cause a decline in a market if it does not adapt to the new users from these developments, but it can also improve the qualities of public space around the market thus

encouraging greater use. This is where management must positively respond to this opportunity presented by societal and contextual change.

In the temporal dimension, time is an important tool to understand urban change in society as reflected in the changes to the built environment over time, through the processes of adaptation. Subjective experiences can be expressed in space and time, and changes in behaviour manifest as new behaviour patterns. New or different activity can be measured by repetition, duration, rapidity and different intensities against what has gone before. These indicators suggest temporalities or patterns of behaviour through observable changes over time. Furthermore, inter-subjectivity, which suggests integrated feelings, enables users to interpret the patterns and share the meaning of belonging and place identities. The processes revealed by patterns of behaviour and shared experience enshrine the continuity and familiarity of place.

In the case of London's markets, a variety of patterns may arise from mixed-use development in the local area. For example, a market may be used predominantly by local office workers at weekday lunchtimes and by residents and tourists at weekends. Time scheduling is therefore an important responsibility for market management. In urban markets, the times of operation tend to favour casual use to reflect contemporary consumer lifestyles. Time management can encourage encounters among new users or act to segregate them to prevent congestion.

As a result, London's markets can be used to reinforce and enhance existing public space for social interaction. When management succeeds in facilitating markets to operate at the effective capacity of their setting, markets demonstrate robustness and adaptability, enabling them to survive functional and locational obsolescence, adding social and economic value and meaning to the community, while continuing to address community needs. Market operating patterns also may enable the categorisation of the types of traders, especially in the case of casual traders who work in multiple markets, according to their economic motives, as family breadwinner or business entrepreneur. Furthermore, management needs to ensure safety and cleanliness during market opening times.

In the management dimension, public space management requires public sector engagement to protect marginal social groups. Partnership is the government's recommended model of market management involving all sectors - public, private, community, voluntary - along with public space and market users, suggesting the notion of the traditional market as a public good available to all people. In order to maximise people's rights to use and enjoy public space, market management requires a coordinated approach to deal with harmful behaviour or

disruptive user groups. Furthermore, allowing a wide range of acceptable but informal uses is important. Latent but positive behaviour can fulfil people's socio-cultural needs, contribute to social diversity, and may indicate that public space is being used to its effective capacity.

The government policies that are relevant to London's markets address their economic, social and cultural value and qualities. However, a strategic approach to market management is important to enforce the principles of public space for all for markets in town centres and these have often been adopted, especially for street markets managed by local authorities. Subsequent changes in market strategies and public space policies after 2008 in favour of economic growth and viability, made it more difficult to balance social and community values needed for, and important to markets.

This review of the concepts in the academic literature therefore incorporates multiple dimensions. The processes by which public spaces evolve by organic, incremental change or planned development, highlight the key relationship between use, management and physicality as markets adapt to meet users' social needs, and manage conflict over uses in order to allocate space for multiple uses. Management should resolve conflicts over use in a way that facilitates acceptable behaviour which is informal but positive, while ensuring that it addresses people's needs, and rights. This suggests the importance of management to help markets uphold patterns of behaviour and shared experiences that will ensure their continued viability.

This research will, therefore, contribute to a more detailed understanding of change and conflict in complex urban places such as traditional markets reflecting on the relationship between use, management and physicality. The characteristics of market environments, derived from use and generalised in the case studies, will guide recommendations for management policies and practices so that London's markets can be made to be enjoyable, comfortable and accessible places for commerce, consumption and social interaction that reflect people's changing needs in the local area.





chapter

# 4

## R e s e a r c h   M e t h o d o l o g y

## 4 Research Methodology

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### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology for the study of London's traditional markets and the role played by market management. As suggested by the thesis title, 'London's markets: managing change and conflict in complex urban spaces', management plays a critical role in both facilitating a vibrant social life in markets, their on-going economic viability, and in dealing with the continual challenges facing traditional markets such as the tensions that arise out of daily activities, and opportunities that present themselves from changes in the market or its local environment.

The research design divided the study of London's traditional markets into 5 parts - 1) the desk-based literature and policy review, 2) a distillation of the theories and concepts from the academic literature into the conceptual framework for the study, 3) the initial fieldwork investigation undertaking a typological analysis of all inner London traditional markets, 4) the detailed fieldwork research which focused on an in-depth case study of two of these inner London markets, and 5) the analysis, discussion and conclusions regarding the research findings.

The initial stage of the research focused on a review of the academic literature and government policy relating to public space and its uses and governance. This included a review of the literature on the role of markets in cities, the theoretical discussions about the use of, and right to public space as markets are seen to be a legitimate use of the public realm, and the urban design dimensions of public space which inform our understanding of the role of markets on many levels in the social and functional life of cities. This literature review laid the foundation for both the fieldwork research and the analysis of the findings by highlighting the key issues and concepts, and suggesting the conceptual framework that structured the investigation of markets based on the interrelationship between market use, management, and physicality which comprises its physical form and urban context.

The empirical research was carried out in two stages, and consisted of the initial typological analysis of the 102 inner London traditional markets, and then in-depth case studies of two markets chosen from the 102. The typological analysis reviewed the general characteristics

from a baseline of information on the location of each inner London market, the type of products or produce sold, the days and times of operation, the body responsible for the management of the market, as well as an overview of the history of the markets where this information was available. This led to a classification of the markets into five types based on their physical form and location. This snapshot of the status of each of these markets was presented in tabular form for ease of reference and comparison.

The second stage of the empirical research involved an in-depth case study analysis of two of the inner London traditional markets. This investigation would allow a comparison between the two markets which would shed further light on the social and management dimensions of the markets, and produces some useful findings with regard to the role of management in dealing with the challenges, conflicts, tensions and opportunities facing London's markets today. The two case study markets were chosen for their historical value within London, while one of the markets was chosen as it represents the most common type of market which is the street market, and, for comparison purposes, the two markets were chosen because they have experienced markedly different outcomes - one declining and one thriving - reflecting the management decisions of their governing bodies. The case study markets therefore reflect the challenges and opportunities experienced by many markets in inner London, and illustrate the role of management in determining the direction of development. Additionally, the two markets had different owners and management bodies - one was owned and managed by a local authority, and the other was operated by a community trust along with the local Business Improvement District (BID) group. It was felt that this would also provide an interesting set of comparisons for the two different management regimes.

## 4.2 The Qualitative Research Approach

London's markets are integral parts of the complex urban environments of the city that have evolved through historical changes in their urban context. Gentrification, in particular, has resulted in the introduction of new, more affluent users into local areas as a result of redevelopment and regeneration. Under these circumstances, London's markets continue to be good environments for commerce, consumption, and social interaction through daily activities that take place there. The activities in the public space of the marketplace reflect the relationship between the urban space, or the physicality of the market, the use and activities supported by the market, and the management of the market which concerns its physical, functional and social operations.

The research used a qualitative research approach to investigate these complex urban environments focusing on the relationship between use, management and physicality. This qualitative approach lends itself to a method of inquiry that looks into how the world is constructed through different ways of describing and understanding it, by focusing on interactions or experiences. The qualitative research approach to the empirical fieldwork focused on observing the subjects - the market users, traders and managers, in their natural setting, using multiple methods of data collection such as observation, photographic studies, and semi-structured interviews. The research procedure for the interviews was standardised but the format for the interviews was semi-structured with standard key questions as the guide, but then allowing the interviewee the ability to elaborate on the issues, and perhaps introduce new material as emerging themes on the subject. This interview data was analysed through the steps of interpretive coding and analysis, applying complex reasoning from inductive and deductive analysis (Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2003). Field research to gather data in its natural setting is one of the major approaches in the area of qualitative research, and the case study is one of the most useful strategies to gain in-depth and detailed narratives about a subject (Creswell, 2003).

Table 4A shows the relationship between the research question, research objectives and overall research steps and methods. This qualitative research using both inductive and deductive analysis has been organised into five stages. In the first stage, there was an academic literature and policy review to establish the main concepts supporting the study of traditional markets such as the discussion of 'the public' that a market serves, and the aspects of public life in public space in which traditional markets play a key role as historic retail and social public places. By reviewing these key issues and the urban design concepts related to public space, a conceptual framework was developed, revealing the continuous interactions between market use, management and physicality.

From the typological analysis, the general character of inner London's markets was revealed along with the type of management currently in place for the markets. Market management ranged from public sector, to community, to private sector bodies, or a partnership of some or all of these types of organisations. The case studies further explored market management and its effect on market vitality and viability, with a detailed investigation of specific market practices. The research question about how the management of London's traditional markets responded to both the strategic and practical challenges, tensions and opportunities presented by the local and city-wide environments, was finally answered, in the discussion and analysis of

the findings of the empirical research, along with a reflection on the value of the conceptual framework in establishing a direction for the study and the analysis of the findings.

**Table 4A. Structure of the study relating to the research question, the objectives and the research methods**

Research question	Research objectives	Research Methodology	
How does market management ensure the economic viability and social vitality of inner London's traditional markets, and respond to the challenges, tensions and opportunities presented in such a complex inner city environment?	1. Understanding the complex public urban environments of London's traditional markets  2. investigating market management practices ensuring an optimal balance between economic viability and social vitality in urban public space	Literature review (academic literature & policy documents)	1. To establish the characteristics of London's markets from a review of the concepts and theories about the use of, and right to public space, the aspects of public life in public space, and the impact of public space management policies  2. Review of the concepts relevant to markets from an urban design perspective using a multi-dimensional approach to understand the use, function & meaning of public space, and the importance of public space & market management
		Typological analysis of 102 inner London traditional markets	The general characteristics of inner London's traditional markets - Market types - Types of products sold - Pattern of operations - Historical overview - Characteristics of market locations
		In-depth Case study of two inner London traditional markets	Study of market management practices by comparing two markets - Daily activities in the micro-spaces of the markets through observation, photographic studies, mapping of activities and user densities, semi-structured interviews with shoppers, traders and managers.  - The effect of market management practices through observation, survey questionnaires of shoppers and traders, and semi-structured interviews
		Discussion, analysis & comparison of findings from the fieldwork investigation	Comparison, analysis, and generalisation of the findings from the typological analysis and case studies, referring back to the concepts from the literature review, with conclusions and recommendations

source: author's summary

### 4.3 Scope of the Research Study

This research on traditional markets focused on those markets in inner London where the tradition of retail street markets is well established. Some of them have a long history dating back to medieval times. Furthermore, these traditional markets that are in daily use and frequented by the local community were chosen for study as they are representative of an alternative, yet traditional, shopping option for inner London consumers. Additionally, inner London is the area where gentrification has had the greatest impact (Butler, 2006), and this will continue to be the case because the London Plan has promoted economic development aiming to increase housing density and improve liveability and attract new, more affluent people to live and work in London (Keddie&Tonkiss, 2010).

The number of markets within the inner London boroughs was also manageable in terms of the time and resources available for this research. These inner city markets in regular daily or casual operation throughout the year were accessible for study being clustered within the London Boroughs of Islington, Camden, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Greenwich, Southwark, Lewisham, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Hammersmith and Fulham, and Kensington and Chelsea, the City of Westminster, and the City of London. Excluded from the study were occasional markets such as Christmas or continental markets, as it was not easy to verify a structured pattern of use which was a requirement in the selection of markets for study.

Theorisation around the use of public space, the right to public space, and all the challenges around the public space agenda, provide a rich foundation for a discussion of traditional markets that are publicly accessible. Additionally, government policy documentation on public space and its management was also substantial, and readily available for review and study. There is also increased interest in traditional markets as a key component of the retail sector in cities. Their vibrant social atmosphere and wide range of goods, often competitively priced, combine to make the traditional marketplace a positive urban space. Therefore, the importance of markets to the urban public realm and the life of cities was seen to justify continued research in this area. The two most recent studies, mentioned in Chapter 2 - *London's Retail Street Markets* (draft final report June 2010, Regeneris) and *Market Failure?: Can the traditional market survive?* (House of Commons: Communities and Local Government Committee: Ninth Report of Session 2008-9, 7 July 2009), confirmed the significance of markets to town centres, regeneration schemes, and local communities while supporting the role of management in sustaining the vitality and viability of markets. This study can contribute

to the existing research in this area, by focusing on inner London markets as representative of inner city markets in large metropolitan areas.

As London's traditional markets are seen to be important features in the retail sector of cities, urban regeneration strategies now aim to include street markets or other publicly accessible markets, which provide another level of choice for shoppers, as well as attracting tourists. Therefore, strategies to support both the social vitality and economic viability of urban public markets focus on management as the key ingredient to ensure the continued success of traditional urban markets. This study attempts to highlight the aspects of market management that support market success.

#### 4.4 Research Methods for the Literature Review

The literature review, focusing on understanding the character of London's markets as public spaces and traditional retail venues, consisted of two parts. The first part was a review of the theories and concepts about the diverse nature of the 'public' that inhabits public space, and social life in the public realm, which sheds light on the social aspects of public space; and a review of public space management policies. For the policy overview, Planning Policy Guidance, Planning Policy Statements, and government strategies related to the public realm and traditional markets at the national, city and local levels, were reviewed (Table 4B). The second part was a review of four urban design dimensions of public space that focus more on the practical aspects of physical form, functions, and uses of the public realm, as well as the social meaning of public space and places.

The methodology aimed to identify key concepts and themes that would be useful in understanding markets, the nature of the users, the various pressures that markets now experience, and the ways in which government is dealing with this traditional urban activity. The concepts are also useful in analysing the findings from the empirical fieldwork, grouping the results under themes such as strategic and practical issues related to market management. The holistic approach to the literature review used an inter-disciplinary perspective to explore the multi-dimensional aspects of the market experience, the social meaning of activities, and the impact on social space. The review also suggested multiple research methods should be used to explore the character of London's markets in the field research.

**Table 4B. Policy documents for a literature review**

Level	Policy	Public open space	Markets
National level	Planning policy	Planning Policy Statement 1 – Delivering Sustainable Development (2005), Planning Policy Statement 5 – Planning for the Historic Environment (2010), Planning Policy Guidance 17 – Planning for Open Space, Sports and Recreation (2006), Urban white paper – Our Towns and Cities: The Future (2000), Living places: Cleaner, Safer and Greener (2002)	Planning Policy Statement 6, Planning Policy Statement 4 – Delivering Sustainable Economic growth (2009), Retail Markets, Management Models (2010), Retail Markets: A Good Practice Guide (2010), Supporting Retail Markets (2010), Growing markets, Championing the Market Stall (2010)
	Community policy	Strong Local Leadership – Quality Public Services (2001), Sustainable Community Plan (2003), Community Involvement in Planning (2004), Strong and Prosperous Communities (2006), Sustainable Community Act 2007 (2008)	
	Supplementary planning guidance	Towards an Urban Renaissance (1999)	
Regional level	Planning policy	London Plan (2004, 2008, 2009), Open Space Strategies (2004, 2008), Cultural Strategy (2004, 2008), Better Streets (2009), A Manifesto for Public Space: London's Great Outdoors (2009)	London Food Strategy (2007), London's Street Markets (2008), London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13 (2009), Reinvigorating the High Street: Encouraging Retail Diversity and Supporting Town Centres in London (2009), London's Retail Street Markets: Draft Final Report (2010)
	Supplementary planning guidance	Making Space for London (2002), Accessible London: Achieving an Inclusive Environment (2004)	
Local level	Planning policy	Unitary Development Plan (UDP), Local Development Framework (LDF), Core strategy, Open space strategy, Public realm strategy	
	Community policy	Local community strategy	
	Guidance	Local standards and design guidance	

Source: authors' own summary



## 4.5 Research Methods for the Typological Analysis of inner London's traditional markets

The typological analysis was the first stage in the fieldwork research, and was selected to investigate what the general characteristics of inner London's markets are today. This sets the foundation for the second stage of the empirical research. The 102 inner London markets needed to be classified according to the following criteria: their location on public or private land along with any associated physical characteristics such as being covered; the type of produce or products sold; the frequency and regularity of their operations - daily markets at regular times each week, or casual markets that operated regularly but less frequently; and the type of market management bodies. These classifications would provide an indication of the dominant market type in inner London by location which was deemed the most important factor. The conceptual framework focusing on market use, management and physicality, underpinned the typological analysis (Table 4C).

**Table 4C. The four criteria**

Three factors in the conceptual framework	Literature review	Four criteria for the typological analysis
Use	Social dimension Temporal dimension	Types of produce and products being sold in the market Times of operation, and frequency
Management	Management dimension	Management body responsible for market management
Physicality	Physical dimension	Physical form and location

source: author's own summary

The typological framework then allowed further investigation of London's markets in the research period to assess whether they were thriving or declining in the face of many challenges presented by changes in the retail sector, gentrification of neighbourhoods, and general management pressures. In qualitative research, types are constructed in order to comprehend, understand and explain complex social realities. The typological analysis was therefore useful in establishing the types of markets in London at the times of the research. A typology is suggested by the similarities and differences between types, and results in a grouping process. The subjects in the field are divided into groups or types with the help of one or more similar attributes. The elements within a type have to be as similar as possible (internal heterogeneity on the 'level of the type') and the differences between the types have to be as strong as possible (external heterogeneity on the 'level of the typology' (Kluge, 1999,

p.26). The constructed subgroups - of traditional markets, for example, - with common attributes that can be described and featured by a particular constellation of these properties, are defined by the term type.

Urban researchers often have tried to categorize and organize cities with typology frameworks. Typologies are descriptive and analytic tools that help to develop and refine concepts, tease out underlying concepts, create categories for classification and measurement and sort case studies (Collier et al., 2012). Recent examples of urban or city focused typologies have been developed to provide historical narratives, categorize urbanization and development trends, examine a range of issues including environmental impacts, and classify cities by population size or economic activity ... . These data exercises and typology must wrestle with a variety of conceptual and methodological issues that underpin on-going debates within the field of comparative urbanism. Critical issues include the validity and reliability of data comparison for cities set in vastly different social, economic, and political contexts (see Nijman, 2007; Kloosterman and Lambregts, 2007; and Bulkeley et al., 2015)

A typology should use a suite of factors that are justified theoretically from the research literature, available directly or by proxies, and are immediately relevant to the question at hand. Existing urban typologies provide useful insights into the definition, construction, and the use of variables relevant to urbanization ... (Solecki et al., 2015)

In urban design discussions, typology represents the relationship between forms and functions, or space and use. Typological analysis was suggested as a methodology by Carr et al. (1992) in order to understand the shifting relationship between functions and forms. For public space in the UK, Carmona et al. (2008) also suggested creating typologies focusing on the changes to the types over time. In their research, it was suggested that certain types of public space are disappearing while others are emerging.

This typological analysis uses the four criteria, listed above in Table 4C, as its 'suite of factors' to highlight the differences in the markets in an effort to uncover those factors that lead to a market's social vitality and economic viability. Additionally, an historical overview of the development of London's markets aims to examine how inner London's traditional markets have evolved and who they have served over time. The overview provides a sense of their significance in the life of the city and reveals the role of management for those markets. The

geographical analysis looks at the neighbourhoods, and the urban context along with the social demographics in the local areas.

### **Analysis strategy: historical overview and geographical analysis**

The typological analysis investigated the generic character of inner London's traditional markets through general identification of the characteristics of the location and physical form of the market, its user groups, types of produce, and the market management body. The typology of London's markets has been classified predominantly according to types of locations and the associated physical form, if relevant, and then by the produce (Peplow, 1987; Bergstrom, 1983). The types of produce (Cooper, 1974) on offer generally reflect the consumer preferences of the markets' main user groups (Watson and Studdert, 2006). These two classifications determine the nature of the market most clearly. In this study, the third classification is the type of market management body which is generally a public sector body such as the local authority, a community organisation, or a private sector organisation.

The types of locations of inner London's traditional markets fall into 5 categories:

1. street markets,
2. indoor markets,
3. covered outdoor markets,
4. uncovered outdoor markets on private land,
5. markets on borrowed non-market spaces.

With regard to the market types, street markets are located in streets which are public land. Outdoor markets include both covered and uncovered markets but are differentiated from street markets due to their land ownership as they are located on private land. Indoor markets are confined to market buildings with a permanent roof and doors through which to gain access; they are in both public and private ownership. Markets on or in borrowed space occupy sites that are normally not used for markets, called here 'non-market space', for example, parks, parking lots, vacant sites, church courtyards, school playgrounds, and private shopping centres.

Times of operation are related to the operating or open days as well as to the hours of operation during those open days. They were classified as daily or casual, depending on

whether a market operates for more or less than three days a week. Therefore, a daily market operates three or more days per week, and on the same days each week, thereby providing a regular, dependable service for its users.

Types of produce and products were classified as wholesale or retail. Wholesale is defined as 'the selling of goods in large quantities to be retailed by others' (Oxford Dictionary, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>, 2008). A general market deals with a wide selection of commodities and produce whereas specialist markets focus on specific produce or goods such as antiques, or crafts, food markets deal with artisan food and are distinguished from farmers' markets selling farm produce.

The typological analysis was undertaken in two parts (desk based research): an historical overview of inner London's traditional markets focusing on their development over time, and the characteristics of the market locations with a geographical analysis of the markets and their local areas, in order to understand both the markets and the nature of the local context. The geographical investigation used desk-based research methods.

In the first part of the typological analysis, the historical overview focused on the forces driving changes in the local context and any changes in the market type. In the second part, the characteristics of market locations and the geographical analysis revealed the distribution of the markets in relation to areas of economic deprivation and looked at the socio-cultural demographics in the markets' local areas, as well as the development plan policies proposed by the local authorities.

Table 4D shows the research strategy, and methods for collecting data during the desk based research. Any changes that had taken place to the markets were identified from reports in market guidebooks published since the 1930s, which covered a market's history, and this was supplemented by the author's fieldwork investigation through observation of the individual markets on site. Users that the markets serve from their local neighbourhood were investigated, reflecting the social demographics of the markets' local areas, and these were collected from statistics of census data. The development plan policies proposed by the local authorities for market areas were also reviewed to establish whether new residential and/or commercial developments had taken place or were planned.

**Table 4D. Research strategy, methods for collecting data, and for the presentation of the findings from the Typological Analysis**

Research strategy	Research sources	Presentation of Research Findings	Expected results / findings
Typological analysis of inner London's traditional markets (locations, types of produce, times of operation, and management)	Market guidebooks And, market websites	Tables for the five types such as street, indoor, covered and uncovered outdoor markets and markets on borrowed non-market space	Diversity in locations, management bodies, types of produce, and times of operation
Historical overview	Market guidebooks published since 1930 for historical information from 1930 to the present	Tables of historical changes in individual markets according to the market type	Change revealing that markets are evolving and responding to changing user preferences under the influence of various management practices.  Markets facing the challenges such as new retail trends and gentrification
Characteristics of market locations / contexts, and Geographical analysis	Social demographics of the local areas  Statistics and GIS maps from national reports and planning documents the 2001 Census	GIS maps illustrating the distribution of markets with reference to areas of economic deprivation, to local socio-cultural demographics, and to local authority development plans	Present and future users that markets serve are changing

Source: author's own summary

### **Methods for collecting data in the desk based research: consulting market guidebooks, websites and statistics**

This study examined the markets in the City of London and inner-London boroughs<sup>1</sup> from which data for the 102 markets were collected and classified. For information on these traditional markets in inner London, market guidebooks were the main source of information about the types of locations, produce, times of operation, and management structures. Market guidebooks also detailed the changes to individual markets over time. According to the date of publication, the following is a list of the selected guidebooks that were consulted:

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of inner London follows the *London Government Act 1963*. It includes the City of London and the boroughs of Islington, Camden, Westminster, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Greenwich, Southwark, Lewisham, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Hammersmith and Fulham, and Kensington and Chelsea.

- Street Markets of London (Benedetta, 1936),
- The Complete Guide to London's Antique Street Markets (Cooper, 1974),
- The Markets of London: A Complete Guide with Maps and Photographs (Forshaw, 1989),  
and
- London Markets (Harris, 2006).

In addition, the websites of local councils were consulted, and enquiries relating to the four criteria for the typological analysis, were made via email to the local authority department in charge of markets. Of 13 enquiries (to the London Boroughs of Islington, Camden, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Greenwich, Southwark, Lewisham, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Hammersmith and Fulham, and Kensington and Chelsea, and the City of Westminster, and the City of London), four boroughs (Kensington and Chelsea, Lewisham, Islington, and Hammersmith and Fulham) responded with information on the markets they were currently managing, with each market's size, types of produce and products, times of operation, and the address of their location.

The market locations in relation to their local areas were analysed in order to understand the users that the markets serve. Census 2001 statistics on London's social demographics, and GIS maps of London and its local communities, showing the areas of economic deprivation were consulted. This data was collected from the 2001 Census, which was available during the research time-period. Census 2011 was also consulted and reconfirmed the trends of the changes noted in 2001. GIS maps from national reports, the official planning document - the *London Plan* (GLA, 2008) and the development plan policies proposed by the local authorities for the market areas, were consulted. These revealed the distribution of the areas of economic deprivation and multi-ethnic groups, in relation to market locations.

### **Presentation of the Findings from the typological analysis**

The study of the types of inner London's traditional markets led to the classification of the markets primarily by the type of location and physical form such as street markets, indoor markets, covered and uncovered outdoor markets on private land, and markets on borrowed non-market space. The information on individual markets was recorded using the Excel software programme and tables were produced recording the types of locations of the markets, their produce, times of operation, and management bodies.

For the historical review of the markets, the forces that drive changes in the surrounding urban context and the historic accounts of the development of individual markets were collected and arranged in chronological order, and classified according to the market type. Furthermore, the

market locations were illustrated using GIS (Geographical Information System) mapping, with the maps presenting information on the social demographics of a market's neighbourhood, and locations of new and proposed developments in the areas surrounding the market.

#### 4.6 Research Methods for the Case Study Analysis

In the second stage of the fieldwork research, the aim for the case studies using an in-depth analysis of daily life in the market micro-spaces was to examine the characteristics of public life in specific market locations, and investigate the management practices that responded to the challenges and tensions arising out of daily operations. The cases were chosen to represent a specific market type within inner London. Potential case study markets that were considered for in-depth analysis were, Borough Market, Camden Passage, Greenwich Market, Old Spitalfields Market, Islington Farmers' Market, and Petticoat Lane. They are located within inner London and are near or adjacent to the City of London where intensive new building developments were planned, as detailed in the local authority's Local Development Frameworks.

In order to decide upon the two case study markets, short field trips were made, during the collection of the information for the typological analysis. Observation of activities along with photographic studies, during walks in the markets and their surrounding areas, were undertaken by the researcher to supplement the information gathered through secondary document analysis. The results are shown in Table 4D. Both historic and newly created markets, assessed by on-site observation, suggested that some markets are vibrant whereas others are in decline, or not well managed. At this time, there was also the opportunity to observe the character of the markets and their surrounding areas which contained both council housing and new developments of offices and residential buildings, thus suggesting new types of users for the markets.

From the short field trips, Petticoat Lane as a street market and Borough Market as a covered outdoor market were selected for two reasons: both markets retain a traditional nature and are comparable cases in outdoor public space as they are perceived to be part of the public realm. These two markets represent examples of historically significant traditional markets. Petticoat Lane has been in existence, informally, since the 1500s and accepted officially since 1936, and Borough Market has been a recognised wholesale market since 1756, although its existence was recorded as early as the 11th century. Borough Market, in particular, is an

example of a market whose transition from a daily wholesale to a combined daily wholesale and casual retail food market was carefully planned and took place in phases while preserving the old wholesale market and maintaining its operations. Old Spitalfields Market and Islington Farmers' Market were excluded from the case study sampling because Old Spitalfields Market was about to be redeveloped, while Islington Farmers' Market has a relatively short history (less than 10 years at the time of the field-work).

The second reason why these two markets were chosen concerns their types. They are examples of two different market types with regard to dissimilar locations and market management structures. Furthermore, they serve different user groups especially in relation to socio-economic demographics and the ethnicity of the main user groups. These differences are expected to produce interesting findings regarding the different challenges and opportunities facing management, with examples of effective and ineffective management practices (Tables 4E and 4F).

The two market locations are on or directly accessed off a public street. Petticoat Lane is located on the street that is for public use and in public ownership; and, Borough Market is a covered, open-air market on a site designated for a market function with the site in community ownership. Both markets are in daily use. In Borough Market, a food retail market was created for casual use, from Thursday to Saturday, alongside the early weekday morning, daily wholesale market, while Petticoat Lane has been developed from the casual use market on Sundays to a daily market. Management of Petticoat Lane is by the local authority, while the management of Borough Market is by a community organisation, the Borough Market Trust. They are expected to operate the market for the public good, along with the local Business Improvement District group - the Bankside BID. Different user group profiles for each market in terms of socio-economic status were perceived from the types of produce and products on offer, and the range of prices.

Furthermore, the overall impression of the markets from the field trips was of a contrasting experience in Petticoat Lane from that in Borough Market (Table 4D). The impression of Petticoat Lane was of a market with a social atmosphere derived from its multi-ethnic users with low priced, and low quality goods, and a perceived poor marketplace experience. On the other hand, Borough Market revealed a preference for good quality but high priced goods, and a pleasant aesthetic experience in a safe environment.



**Table 4E. Characteristics of potential case study markets identified from the short field trips (2008)**

Market	History	Locations	Times of operation	Types of produce and products	Management bodies	Comments or Remarks
Borough Market	Operated since 1756, refurbished in planned in phases starting in 1995	covered outdoor market on Borough High Street in the London Borough of Southwark	Daily wholesale & casual retail specialist food	Whole-sale fruit and vegetables and a specialist food retail market	Community Trust organisation and BID	Good quality food and ingredients, attractive design, perceived as safe, thriving market on opening days
Greenwich Market	Redeveloped from a wholesale market in 1980s	Covered outdoor market in London Borough of Greenwich	Daily	Craft and food market	Private-sector organisation	Good quality products, perceived as safe, only moderately thriving
Old Spitalfields Market	Planned for redevelopment from a wholesale food market in 2000s to a retail market selling antiques, clothes and food	Covered outdoor market, near High Street, in London Borough of Tower Hamlets	Daily	Craft, antique and farmers' market	Private-sector organisation	Good quality products attractive design, seems safe, only a few people so moderately thriving
Islington Farmers' Market	Operated since 1999	Market on borrowed non-market space, playground of primary school near the High Street, in London Borough of Islington	Casual	Farmers' market	Private-sector organisation	Good quality farm produce, perceived as safe but only a few people so only moderately thriving
Camden Passage	Operated since 1767	Street market on pedestrian passage, near the High Street in London Borough of Islington	Daily	Antique	Local authority	Good quality products, perceived as safe, only a few people so moderately thriving
Petticoat Lane	in this area since 1500s. Street named Petticoat Lane has its name changed to Middlesex Street in 1800s	Street market, near the High Street in London Borough of Tower Hamlets	Daily	General market (clothes)	Local authority	Good price for quality and social multi-ethnic atmosphere, but not many people on weekdays, more people on Sundays





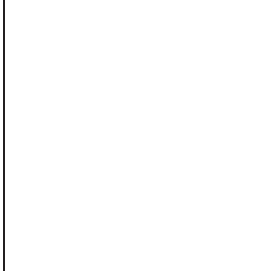



Source: author's own summary

Table 4F Change of use in locations, times of operation and types of produce

a. Petticoat Lane

			
			
<p>Locations: Wentworth Street Types of produce and products: clothes (multi-ethnic people and office workers)</p> <p>LOCATIONS: OUTDOOR, DAILY, PERIODIC, RETAIL TIMINGS: FARMERS, WHOLESALE, GENERAL, CLOTHING PRODUCTS: BRIC-A-BRAC, ART&amp;CRAFT, ANTIQUE, FOOD</p>			<p>Locations: Wentworth and Middlesex Street Types of produce and products: clothes (multi-ethnic people and tourists)</p>

b. Borough Market

			
			
<p>Locations: covered market Types of produce and products: fruit and vegetable wholesale and retail food (local residents and office workers)</p> <p>LOCATIONS: OUTDOOR, DAILY, PERIODIC, RETAIL TIMINGS: FARMERS, WHOLESALE, GENERAL, CLOTHING PRODUCTS: BRIC-A-BRAC, ART&amp;CRAFT, ANTIQUE, FOOD</p>			<p>Locations: covered market and a parking lot Types of produce and products: fruit and vegetable wholesale and retail food (local residents, visitors and tourists)</p>

### **Collecting data: multiple methods for observations and interviews**

The techniques for gathering data comprised desk based and fieldwork-research. Before the field research started, background information on the two markets was collected in the desk-based research to understand the context holistically. The characteristics of the local areas around Petticoat Lane and Borough Market were compared to each other and to areas within inner London as a whole. During the desktop research, local archives such as newspapers, old photographs, and maps were examined for Petticoat Lane and Borough Market because, when compared to the current situation, they illustrated the changes to these places and their users over time. The changes to the physical space and street patterns were also tracked using archival maps dating back to the 1800s. From an historical perspective, the general layout and physical aspects of the markets and their surrounding areas, their urban context including social demographics and local authority policies, regulations, as well as management systems were investigated. Multiple methods were adopted in the fieldwork research such as observation and photographic studies, and surveys and interviews to obtain users' perceptions about the uses and activities in the markets. Data on uses and their relation to management practices and physicality also needed to be collected during the fieldwork research.

### **Observations of use in fieldwork research: fieldwork notes and photographs (2008)**

In order to observe the use of the marketplace and establish the scope of management concerns, this study collated extensive fieldwork notes and photographs. Non-participant observation was designed to find a systematic measure to reveal patterns of use and activities through an initial walk through the markets, counting the number of people in the marketplace, mapping routes through and around the marketplace, photographing the activities and their locations, tracing routes that users took through the marketplace, tracking users routes through the marketplace, and conducting test walks for timing purposes. These methods referred to previous research methods used by Jacobs (1961), Whyte (1980) and Gehl (1984) and De Certeau (1980) that included making field notes and recording the uses in public space.

Furthermore, in urban design discussions, observation is one of the best methods to understand patterns of use and activities and their relationship with public space. Jacobs (1961) highlighted the importance of direct observation. In order to identify patterns of use in everyday situations and their relationship with public space using a more rigorous methodology, Whyte (1980) used time-lapse photography as a systematic and scientific recording method and this has been influential for research in urban design.

Gehl (1984) pointed out that activities are not easy to observe and analyse because their types, necessary, optional and social, are complex and interdependent. From the relationship between the activities and public space, the conditions accommodating the static and ambulant activities were established (Whyte, 1980; Gehl, 2003). Time is an important factor. Frequency, repetition, duration of an activity and rapidity of movement are the measurements of activities (Lefebvre, 1993). Gehl (1984, 2003) pointed out that duration of an activity suggests more opportunities for people to engage in social activities. Timings of use also confirm patterns of use and activities with the presence of users, as they engage in social encounters or remain separate as observers.

In order to understand how large groups of people inhabit public space, and why some public spaces are well used and some are not, Gehl (2013) developed basic questions about activities in public space such as how many, who, where and for how long. These basic systematic questions are very focused and help in saving time during the fieldwork research, making it more effective. They can also be elaborated upon, in the research questions during interviews.

In this research, walking through the markets and making fieldwork notes was selected as a research method to detect the latent changes in activities as a result of the challenges to a market's operations such as new retail trends and/or gentrification in its urban context both of which were identified in the literature review and background research on the two markets. While walking in the marketplaces with information on expected activities, the positions and timings of unexpected activities were quickly identified; for example, people's use of different access routes to the markets at weekday lunchtimes as opposed to the weekends.

The initial walk through the markets helped to decide where and when to observe the recent changes in market use during the main research period. The analysis from the initial walking tour also established the deviant and latent activities in the marketplace. Regarding the pattern of activity in relation to time in these micro spaces, activity was recorded including repetition, duration and rapidity of movements. Mapping of activities such as sitting and standing was undertaken in order to identify the locations of the activities by marking these on maps, while photographing and noting their locations.

For the observation and recording of stationary activities such as standing and sitting in Petticoat Lane market, Wentworth Street was divided into three sections, Goulston Street was one section, and Middlesex Street on Sunday was divided into four sections (Figure 4-1). Borough Market was split into six sections to facilitate observation and recording of activity throughout the marketplace, and the sections included the surrounding streets and the areas

and courtyard of Southwark Cathedral (Figure 4-2). On weekdays, the observation was undertaken in four sections of Petticoat Lane and three sections of Borough Market. On weekends, it took place in eight sections of Petticoat Lane and six sections of Borough Market.

For the tracing of people's walking routes, however, there was difficulty in recording time-lapse photography because the space is not small enough to trace all the movement routes that extend around the markets, and specifically, in all the covered spaces in the case of Borough Market. In this research, tracking the movements of market users, using a stopwatch, is a method to trace people's walking sequences. How fast they move, where they visit, what they do, and how long it takes, were noted and recorded. In terms of speed, two types of walking were identified in the market; fast walking to go through the marketplaces or to buy specific items, and slow walking, called sauntering, allowed for diverse activities such as browsing. The different paces of walking were observed for 20 seconds and measured for its rapidity by generating still images at regular intervals and comparing them. Walking routes were traced onto maps, and included in the research findings.

Recording the duration of activities and the activity types was undertaken along with the taking of photographs of these activities on Thursday and Sunday in Petticoat Lane, and on Thursday and Saturday in Borough Market. Ten random users were selected for tracking from different user groups, and five of these users were asked to draw their journey routes on a map on the day.

The last method in the observation of the marketplace involved timing of test walks undertaken using a stopwatch. This method intended to investigate the potential problems from waiting times, speed or diversion on the selected routes. Based on the pattern of uses and activities observed during weekday lunchtimes and on weekends, the researcher selected two routes along which to walk for each market (Figure 4-3). The duration and rapidity of walking was measured by steps and the time taken to move between two specific locations on a Thursday and a Sunday in Petticoat Lane, and on a Thursday and a Saturday in Borough Market. Notes and photographs were taken in order to record negative aspects about use and activities, explaining details such as the weather conditions, and events taking place.

In this research study, ten weeks were planned for observation of the use and activities in the marketplaces, and the ways in which management seemed to have managed the spaces, in both winter and summer in each market. The observation sessions were organised in two time periods; the first one was for two weeks in winter, in January and February, and the second one was in summer, in August and September in 2008. The first one week was devoted to

Figure 4-1. | Eight Spaces in Petticoat Lane for observation

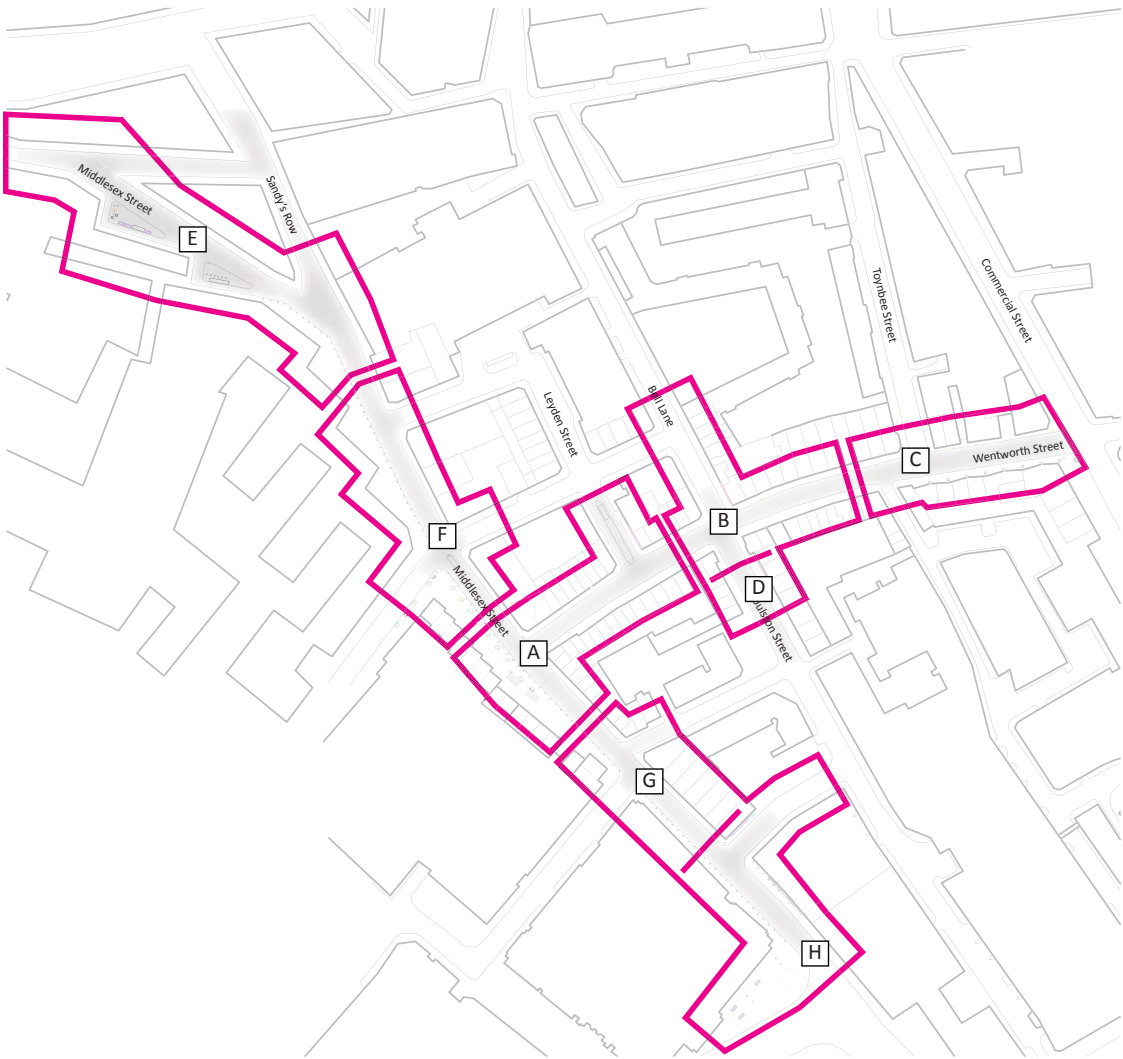




Figure 4-2. | Six Spaces in Borough Market for observation



observation of trading and the initial scoping walk. The pattern of market trading with the locations and times of operation was noted. Photographs were taken of the marketplaces, and the number of active stalls were counted and recorded. Another week was spent for counting the number of users in the marketplaces (Figure 4-4).

The following two weeks were devoted to mapping and photographing. These were undertaken every 30 minutes at the same locations. These fieldwork periods covered the markets' open days, the days when the markets were officially closed, and holidays. Tracking people's walking routes and pacing was undertaken for one week in each market. The test walks on selected routes was planned for the final one week of the observation period for each market (Table 4G). There was systematic note taking and recording with descriptions of the observed situations, such as the date, time of observation, weather conditions, any events taking place, and physicality associated with use (Appendix 4-1), along with photographs which were taken of the same observed locations.

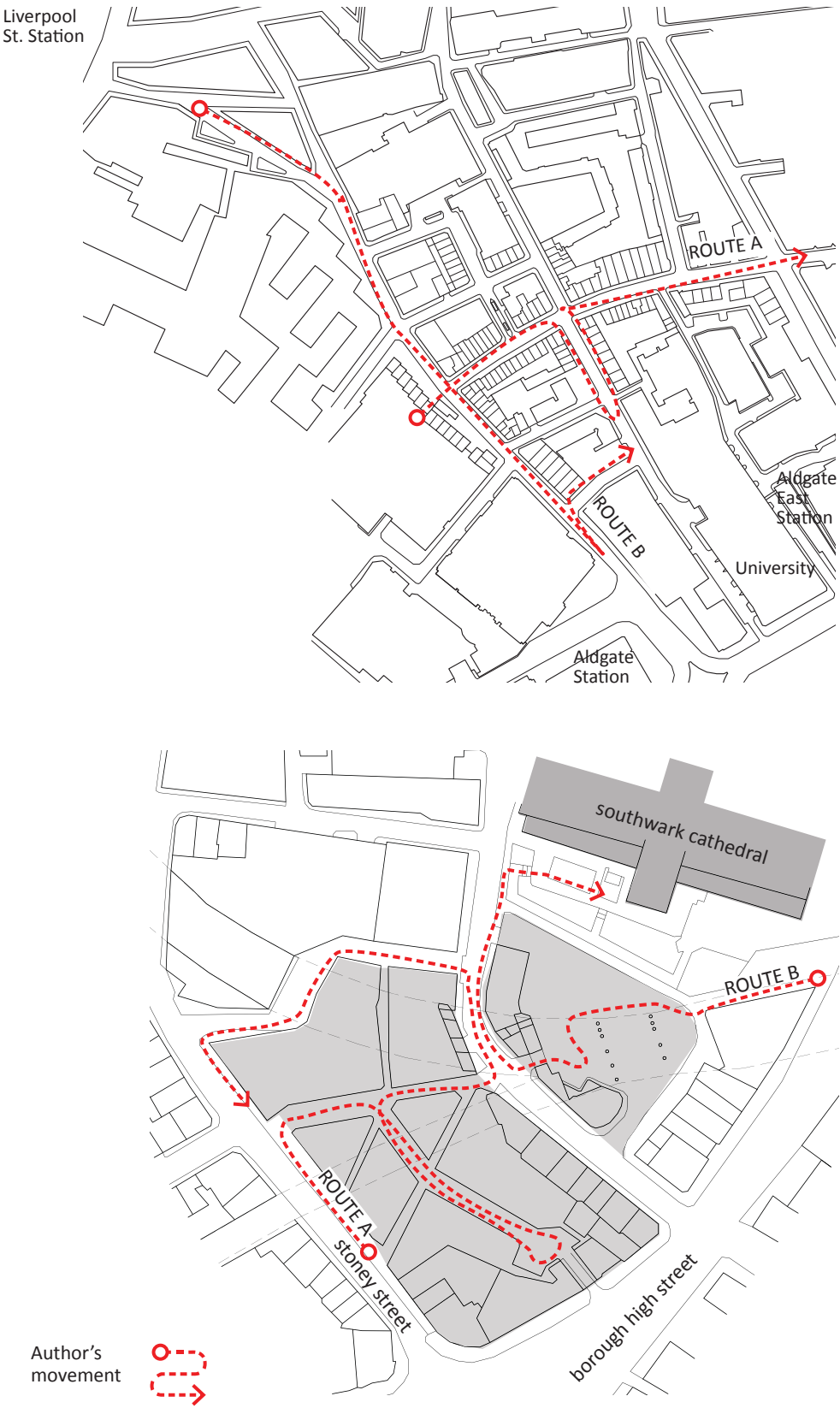
Market users are the collective groups who were identified by their activity (De Certeau, 1980, p.xi). They were also classified according to their apparent occupations, general age, gender, and ethnicity. Whilst not completely reliable, the users were identified by their appearance or language to indicate ethnicity. Age and gender were easily recognised from users' physical appearance, and ethnicity from language or religious costume, for example, turbans and African traditional costume in Petticoat Lane. Students were often visible by their age and attire. In both markets, male and female office workers were identified by their formal work attire. Visitors and tourists were identified by maps, travel bags and cameras.

The number of people who came to the markets or who were sitting in the marketplaces, were counted. The counting sessions took place in the mornings and afternoons on Monday, Thursday and Sunday in Petticoat Lane, and on Monday, Thursday and Saturday in Borough Market. Counting took place at four access points, including from the High Street, and were selected in Petticoat Lane; and three in Borough Market. At those access points, counting was undertaken using counting clickers, for a period of one hour at the same time each day.

Interviews as part of the fieldwork research were undertaken in 2009, from June to August, as warm and dry weather was seen to be a critical factor allowing users to remain in the open space of the markets long enough to answer the interview questions. Interviews were conducted at weekday lunchtimes and on the weekends, for example, on Saturday in Borough Market and on Sunday in Petticoat Lane. The interviews were conducted over a three week



Figure 4-3. | Two routes in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market



period during which time there were interviews with marketplace users, including traders and shoppers. The duration of each interview was between 10 and 15 minutes.

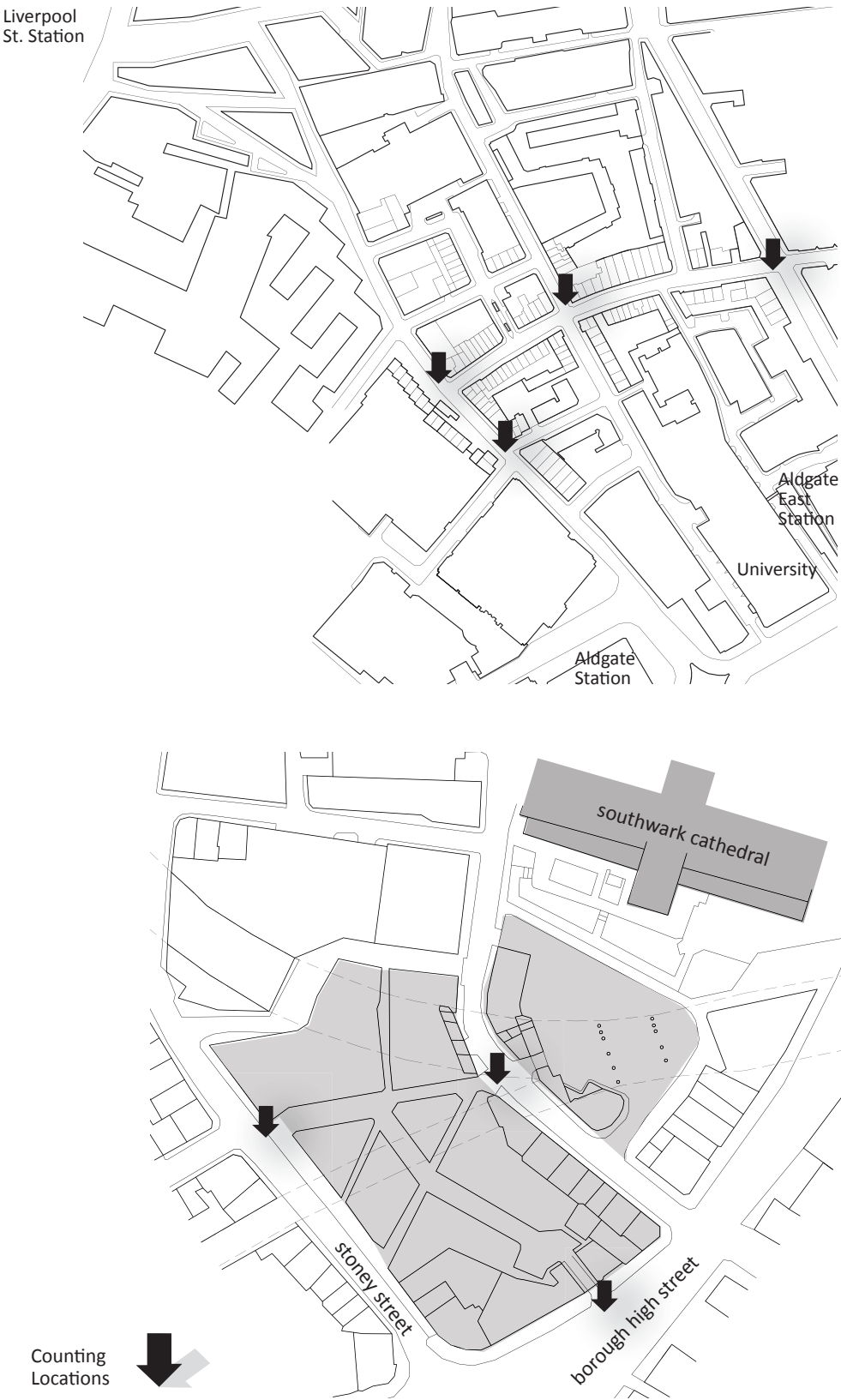
### **Users' perceptions obtained during the field-work research: Semi-structured qualitative interviews (2009)**

The research method of the semi-structured qualitative interview was considered to be the best way to obtain users' perceptions about the markets while also seeking information on their views about the opportunities and tensions created by changes in market uses and activities, management, and the physicality of the marketplace. Bryman (1988) points out that a qualitative interview elicits the interviewees' own perspectives in different ways. 'Semi-structured interviews', in contrast to the 'unstructured interview', starts with a list of specific topics, and encourages new questions following the interviewees' responses (Bryman, 1988, p.264). The semi-structured interview using a similar order of questions and wording is useful when comparing responses in multiple cases.

In the semi-structured interview, which was planned as a face-to-face interview with users, interview questions or topics, and especially the order of the questions, are critical. An interview guide was prepared to establish the range of topics and questions but the questions were relatively open-ended to elicit detailed responses. New topics were derived from the detailed responses of interviewees, and were integrated into the existing interview questions. From this process of refinement throughout the research, the order and wording of interview questions developed (Creswell, 2009, Bryman, 2004).

Interviewees were randomly selected from the group of traders, retailers from nearby shops, market shoppers, local residents, and visitors to Petticoat Lane and Borough Market. According to the information from the observation fieldwork, the sampling selection of interviewees was based on a range of criteria including age, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic position, with users from the existing council housing and newly developed residential and office developments. Whereas some interviewees were active market users, interviewees in the local area who no longer used the markets were also included as they are still potential users. A total of 40 interviewees was selected in Petticoat Lane, and 44 interviewees in Borough Market (see Table 4G).

Figure 4-4. | Counting Locations in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market



**Table 4G. Interviewees in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market**

Markets	Interviewees
Petticoat Lane (40 traders and shoppers)	13 representatives from the market traders, and the trader/shopkeepers in Petticoat Lane 27local residents and visitors
Borough Market (44 traders and shoppers)	9 traders and shopkeepers in Borough Market 35local residents and visitors

Source: author's own summary

In this research, the interview guide was composed of general questions to explore users' needs and perceptions about the markets. Questions relating to qualities of the markets were initially derived from the results and insights from the literature review. Preferred market conditions came from positive perceptions, and were a focus for questions, according to the interview guide (Appendices 4-2 and 4-3).

In order to encourage interviewees to think about their uses of public space, Lynch's (1960) method of asking individuals' for their mental images of their journeys through public space, was useful. In order to understand more about the nature of the users, at the beginning of the interviews, the interviewees' were asked about their occupation, approximate age, and where they came from (ethnicity), why they had come to, and how often they used the markets. Scoring of the preferred market conditions was undertaken, measuring users' different preferences to compare those in the two markets and to the hypothetical preferences derived from the literature review.

The interviews were recorded using a voice recording machine in MP3 format. When interviewees refused to allow the recording of the interview or commented off the record, in the case of some traders in Petticoat Lane, the key points of the interview were noted in writing after the interviews. The transcriptions were made within a few days after the interviews. The responses were categorised according to the interview topics so that interview questions and their order could be developed from this process of refinement.

### **Investigation of documents and semi-structured interviews with key managers (2009)**

To obtain information on management practices and strategies, two methods were used: reviews of documentary evidence, and interviews with key managers. For the first method, documents such as the minutes of GLA, or Tower Hamlets council committee meetings held to decide on market fees or subsidy, were consulted. The regulations of Tower Hamlets and

Southwark councils, for example, dealing with controlling signboards and tables on streets, were also consulted from the council websites ([www.towerhamlets.gov.uk](http://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk); [www.southwark.gov.uk](http://www.southwark.gov.uk)).

For the second method, interviews with key management actors were arranged individually in 2009. There was an exploration of the managers' overall approach and attitude to the market in order to understand their views on public space, their perceptions of the market activities, the users, the preferred qualities of markets, and management practices and strategies. According to the interview guide (Appendix 4-4), questions on the vision for the market, the management partnership experience, the number and type of management tasks, and the need for management skills such as leadership, along with the coordination of uses and funding, and enhancing market environments and maintenance, were explored.

At the beginning of the interviews, the interview questions on market management were addressed, with general management questions. For the rest of the interview, questions were more specific. Based on their replies and identified from observations made in the market places, questions about how management planned to respond to perceived tensions over market uses, were asked at the end of the interviews.

Key managers as interviewees were considered from the observation stage of the research, including managers of the locations that people use frequently around the markets as well as the market managers. For Petticoat Lane, the management interview was held with the manager of the Market Office at the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. In Borough Market, the management interviews were held with four people:

- an architect from the practice, GSA, who had joined for the market design and been involved in the renewal stages since he won the competition 1995
- a public realm manager from the Better Bankside Business Improvement District (BID) group in charge of managing streets around Borough Market as a part of the business district;
- an administrative secretary at Southwark Cathedral as the courtyard and toilet facilities in the cathedral buildings were heavily used by customers of the market.
- staff in Borough Market were asked about management issues related to safety, security, especially the use of CCTV, and communication.

The interviews were also recorded using a voice recording machine in MP3 format. When interviewees commented off the record, in the case of administrative staff in the local church adjacent to Borough Market, key points were noted after the interviews.

### **Ethical considerations**

Ethical issues related to the research were considered and were not deemed to present significant problems. For the observational part of the fieldwork research, law in the UK allows photography in public space which all people can freely access. Nonetheless, data, especially people in photographs, should be anonymous for the purposes of analysis. In each interview, the research purpose was explained beforehand to the interviewee, and the interviewees were asked for their permission to conduct the interview. This was done in person for the interviews with users in the marketplace, and in advance via email for the interviews with key managers. The times and locations for interviews with key managers were planned for their convenience, and digitally recorded and transcribed with interviewees permissions. All discussion of the interviewees is anonymised in this thesis.

### **Presentation of the findings from the case studies**

For the background information in the case studies of Petticoat Lane and Borough Market, information on the forces driving changes in the socio-economic, socio-cultural, physical and political contexts, the changes in the types of user groups, and management were presented in tables, illustrating the historic timelines of these markets. Historical maps illustrated the change in the physical space of the markets such as alterations to street patterns or buildings or blocks. Historical photographs illustrated the changing ethnicity or class of users over time. For the presentation of patterns of activities, the physical space including size and shape of the public space, surrounding land uses, and landscape in and around the markets, were indicated on the maps. From observations of use, stationary activities such as standing and sitting were mapped and illustrated on area maps with description of activities, types of users, and times of the activities accompanied by photos (Figures 4-5 and 4-6).

Diagrams of walking sequences, locations where users were standing and sitting, the number of people who were in the markets or were sitting in the marketplace, were illustrated on the maps. This showed the pattern of usage of the public spaces with description of locations and activities, and indicating frequency and duration of the activities. The routes of the researcher's test walks were illustrated using diagrams accompanied by photographs that showed elements and public spaces along the walking route through the marketplaces. These

diagrams were made especially to indicate the change in uses at weekday lunchtime and on the weekend. Users' perceptions were represented by scores in bar graphs according to the preferred marketplace conditions, and their priorities as given by different user groups. Users' positive and negative perceptions were described in detail in the quotations.

For the management approach to the marketplace, a table indicated all the activities frequently observed, with photographs, description and locations of activities, times, and the conditions for the activities such as the weather and any events taking place. Management responses such as present management practices and future strategies were described in the table. Managers' awareness of key details and issues were explained using quotations from the interviews.

### **Analysis strategy: the relationship between use, management and physicality**

Case studies are a research method suitable for in-depth analysis of complex urban environments such as traditional markets. These environments are analysed by investigating the nature of the relationship between use, management and physicality. Table 4H shows the relationship between the analysis strategy, and methods for collecting data from the desk-based and fieldwork research. The table also indicates the method of presentation of the findings. Multiple methods were adopted in the fieldwork research in order to understand and analyse patterns of use and their interactions with management and physicality. The methods consist of; observation of the patterns of uses and activities in the markets; and semi-structured interviews designed to explore users' positive and negative perceptions about the market and the marketplace. Management practices that respond to marketplace uses and users' perceptions were collected from interviews with key managers and documents from local authorities.



Figure 4-5. | Presentation in Petticoat Lane (all spaces)

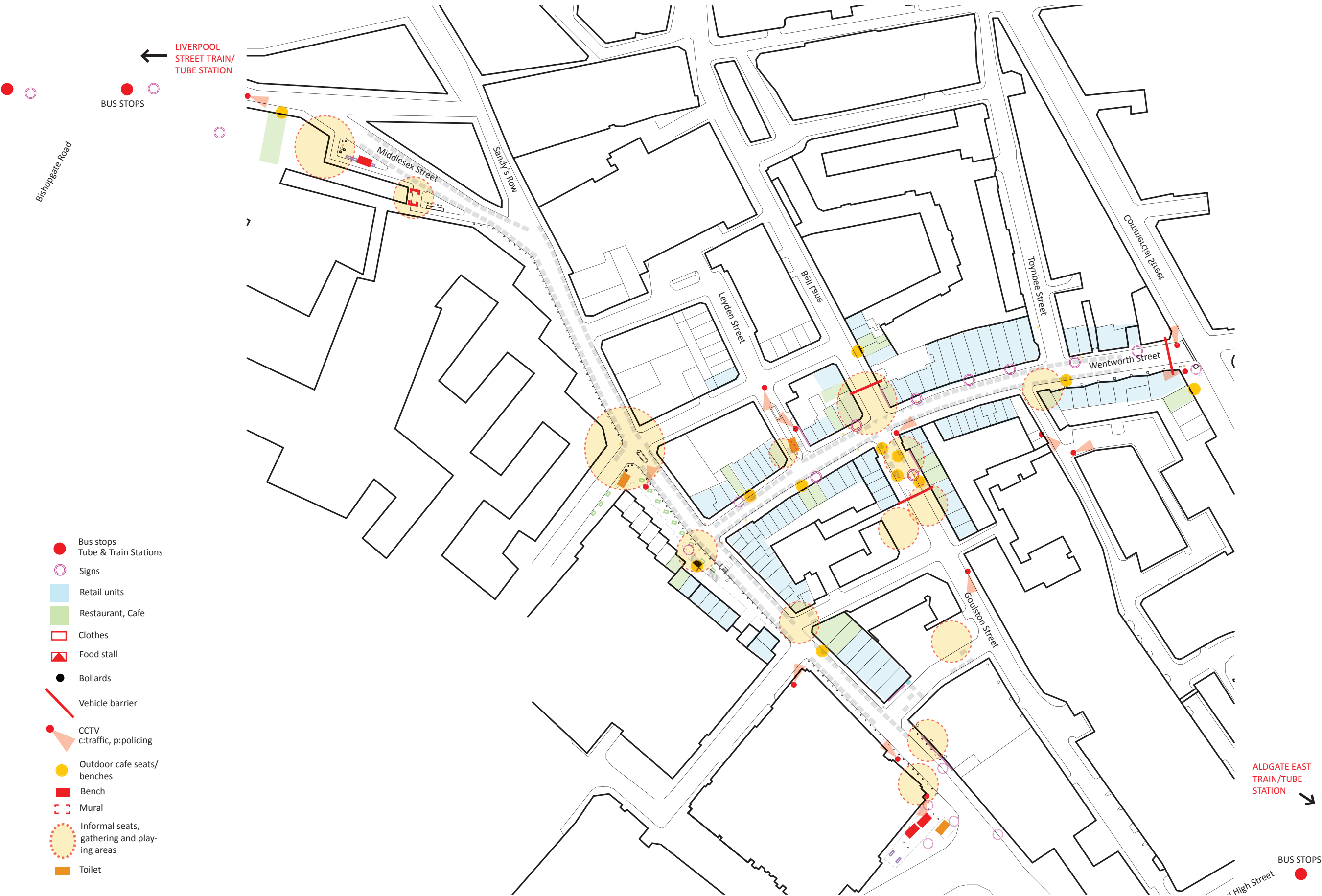




Figure 4-6 | Presentation in Borough Market (all spaces)



**Table 4H. Analysis strategy, methods for collecting data, and for the presentation of the findings from the Case Studies**

Analysis strategy	Research Methods	Presentation of Findings	Expected findings
Background information of Petticoat Lane and Borough Market	Document analysis, and initial fieldwork visits to the markets	Tables illustrating the historic timelines  With historical maps and photographs	Changes under different management bodies
Use and Activities	Observation of stationary activities such as standing and sitting in micro-space of the markets  - Initial scoping walk - Counting the number of users - Mapping & photographing market uses and context - Identifying users - Tracing and tracking users routes through the market - Test walks to establish distance and duration	Diagrams with maps noting numbers, locations and timings of activities for rhythms of use, walking sequences, and test walks	Rhythms of use and users in physical space, vary between markets, and  opportunities and tensions are different in a declining and a thriving market
	Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders. Interviews with marketplace users	Bar graphs, quotations on market conditions from interviews, indicating users' preferences	Different users' positive & negative perceptions about markets, and a range of opportunities and tensions depending on the markets
Management	Semi-structured interviews with key managers  Review of key documents related to market management from local authority and related market organisations	Tables of management practices and plans, and quotations from key managers, responding to use and users	Different practices according to the management bodies

source: author's own summary

## 4.7 Limitations of the Research Methodology

In this research, time and resources inevitably limited the scope of the research. In order to compare the two markets during the same time period, multiple methods for observation and conducting interviews had to be undertaken during a defined period of time as detailed earlier in this chapter. The data analysis process required an effective plan for data collection.

Furthermore, a limited budget and resources necessitated the use of the researcher's direct observation which benefited the collection of sensitive data and detailed information related

to the context. The role of the researcher is as a nonparticipant observer which meant that all the fieldwork time was focused on observing the activities in the marketplaces, without distraction as would have happened if participant observation was used as a research method. Access to interviewees due to their time constraints meant that people who would have been best placed to answer some of the questions about the markets and the management systems were unavailable. Alternative measures to address the same issues from the public space users' perspectives, especially market traders, provided some of the missing information.

The cultural difference between the researcher who came from an Asian culture where markets are still important and vital places to shop, and the study markets located in a European city and western culture may have influenced some of the analysis and conclusions about the markets. Nonetheless, the fact that the market tradition has waned in the UK where traditional markets have been supplanted by supermarkets and shopping malls and face gentrification is a global phenomenon. The researcher's perspective is useful because this change has been identified in other countries.

The perspective of the researcher therefore presented limitations, biases and benefits. With a fresh perspective, the nature, character, and value of the markets was evaluated. The features of social life in the markets, which might have been taken for granted, could be reconsidered through this research. The emphasis in this research on the social life of the market and how this was managed was observed through the lens of this different cultural perspective, and as a result, some nuances about the markets and their structure and operations may not have been appreciated fully. In the end, the fresh perspective of the researcher appeared to yield some interesting interpretation of the findings.

## 4.8 Conclusions

A qualitative research methodology was designed in order to develop an holistic understanding through inductive and deductive analysis. There were five stages to the research; literature and policy review; theoretical framework; a typological analysis; a case study analysis; and discussions of the analyses and findings of the empirical research, reflecting on the conceptual framework and discussions in the theoretical research. London's markets are facing changes from new retail trends and gentrification. In this study, it is expected that some markets will be found to be thriving while some are in decline. Focusing on these

changes in markets in inner London, the research methods were selected to identify and compare market types using a typological analysis and case studies.

The multiple research methods were selected for collecting data in desk-based and fieldwork research. The qualitative research methods were developed through the research process. The review of the academic literature and government policy documents on public space management, the examination of archival information on inner London's markets including local authority planning documents and minutes of council meetings, non-participatory observations, and semi-structured interviews, were among the methods used in this research. The presentation methods were selected focusing on visualising the differences of use, users and market management in the two case study markets. These research methods, especially observations and interviews, are intended to suggest measures for successful market management, and develop techniques to assess management practices that aim to respond to the tensions over uses, and the opportunities presented for the markets.

These research methods are deemed suitable and appropriate to the research topic as they are not overly intrusive but aim to produce a wealth of detail about the micro-spaces of the marketplaces. Furthermore, these types of methods can be undertaken within the time and resources of the study, which is limited in scope, but focused to provide some useful insights into the operations of traditional markets in inner London. No significant ethical issues were encountered.

chapter

# 5

## Typological Analysis

## 5 Typological Analysis of Inner London's traditional markets

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### 5.1 Introduction

The typology of the 102 inner London traditional markets is examined in order to understand the generic character of these markets today. It reviews how they have evolved over time in a rapidly changing urban context. The general character of inner London's traditional markets from this typological analysis will introduce case study material for London's markets in order to investigate best management practices of successful markets.

Typological analysis is a useful tool for this research, as recommended by Carmona et al.(2008) and Carr et al. (1992). This approach looks at the character and form of the public space and its social uses in order to establish the significance of the space to its users. Mental maps, the relationship between form and function, social and physical mobility and cohesion, and the success of the market as a place and a community asset, are all aspects that are considered in the socio-spatial based typological analysis of traditional markets and their local environments.

The analysis is confined to the traditional markets in inner London. The inner city area represents a rapidly changing urban context with dense development for both work and housing, and contrasting areas of social demographics with varying income levels, job distribution, and health situations. Furthermore, inner London is where gentrification has had the most significant impact (Butler, 2003). This research has found that there are markets in all areas of inner London but half of the markets are concentrated in four boroughs: the London Borough of Camden, the City of Westminster, the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, and the London Borough of Southwark near to the City of London.

The typological analysis is divided into three sections:

- 1 the morphological review of the types of inner London traditional markets with regard to their location, form & functions
- 2 a review of the historical development of inner London and the markets
- 3 a review of the market neighbourhoods and socio-economic and socio-cultural demographics of inner London which suggest the type of users that the markets serve

In the first section, the morphological review addresses the typology of London's markets according to location: 1 street markets, 2 indoor markets, 3 covered outdoor markets, 4 outdoor markets on or in private space, and 5 markets on borrowed non-market spaces. The markets are also examined according to the types of produce and products offered. Moreover, the typologies are categorised by temporality, and by their management system. In the second section, an historical overview explores the driving forces that have caused the changes in the markets' contexts over time. In the third section, the typological analysis examines the socio-demographic characteristics of the local areas in order to understand the relationship that the markets have with their local users.

## 5.2 Morphological types of inner London's traditional markets

There are four key aspects of the morphological analysis. The first aspect examines the market's location, whether on public or private land, and its physical form; the second aspect concerns the types of produce or products sold, including the range of these products; the third aspect concerns the times and regularity of its operations as a temporal form, as a daily market, a weekly market on specific days, or a casual market that operates to its own schedule; and the fourth aspect concerns the management system especially the type of body responsible for the management of the market and the management regime that is used to control and support the market activities.

Five categories have been developed to describe the different types of locations of inner London's traditional markets and these have been described above. There is no single legal and agreed definition for what constitutes a traditional market. In this study, the categories are defined as following:

- street market - on a public street, with temporary stalls that are set up and taken down each day.
- indoor market - in a building that has doors to the street that are closed and locked when the market is not in use. The building may be heated. It is perceived as a public space.
- covered outdoor market - an outdoor market that has a permanent cover or roof, but no doors that restrict access. It may have some small enclosed units or shops but shops and stalls are in the open air, but under cover.

- uncovered outdoor market - on private land, out of doors, with stalls that are temporary
- market on borrowed non-market space - suggesting a temporary arrangement like the street market, but on private land and mostly not market sites, described as 'non-market spaces', which could be inside a building or outside in a park or parking lot.

Beyond the physical forms the function of markets, regarding the types of produce and products they sell, are also investigated. Wholesale markets focus on distributing their produce in bulk and being a principal source of supply for retail markets and other forms of retail outlets (<http://oxforddictionaries.com>, 2006). General markets sell a mixture of households products, clothes and accessories, fruit and vegetables. Specialist markets specialise in particular products, such as arts and crafts, or antiques. Food markets offer speciality food other than farm produce.

Farmers' markets have criteria for market traders and products which are as follows (National Farmers' and Retail Markets Association (FARMA), 2006):

- A. The stallholders come from the area defined as 'local'. We suggest that 30 miles is taken as a first-base, extending to 50 miles as necessary for urban and coastal locations.
- B. The stallholder has grown, reared, baked, brewed, caught, pickled or preserved the foods he/she is selling.
- C. The stall is staffed by the farmer or members of his/her team that knows about the production process.

Farmers' markets serve local produce and directly sell their products to customers with information about the products. This type of quality control has given farmers' markets a high reputation. Other types of markets should therefore learn from this example, realising that quality control and marketing to communicate the high standards that they operate to, draw consumers and contribute to the increasing popularity of these types of markets.

Regarding market times of operation (the temporal dimension), this study defines two criteria:

- daily markets - trading that takes place for four or more days a week
- casual market - trading that takes place for three days a week or less

From the historic overview of all inner London's markets (Appendix 5-1), regarding types of markets, management bodies, times of operation and types of products, and brief history, the



following tables, 5A to 5F, along with the location map in Figure 5.1, provide specific details about the markets. Table 5A shows the total number of traditional markets in inner London in each location category, and then in brackets breaks down this total into the number that are wholesale markets / general markets / or specialist (such as antiques), food, or farmer's markets. By far the largest number of markets by location is street markets.

Figure 5-1. | Types of inner London's markets

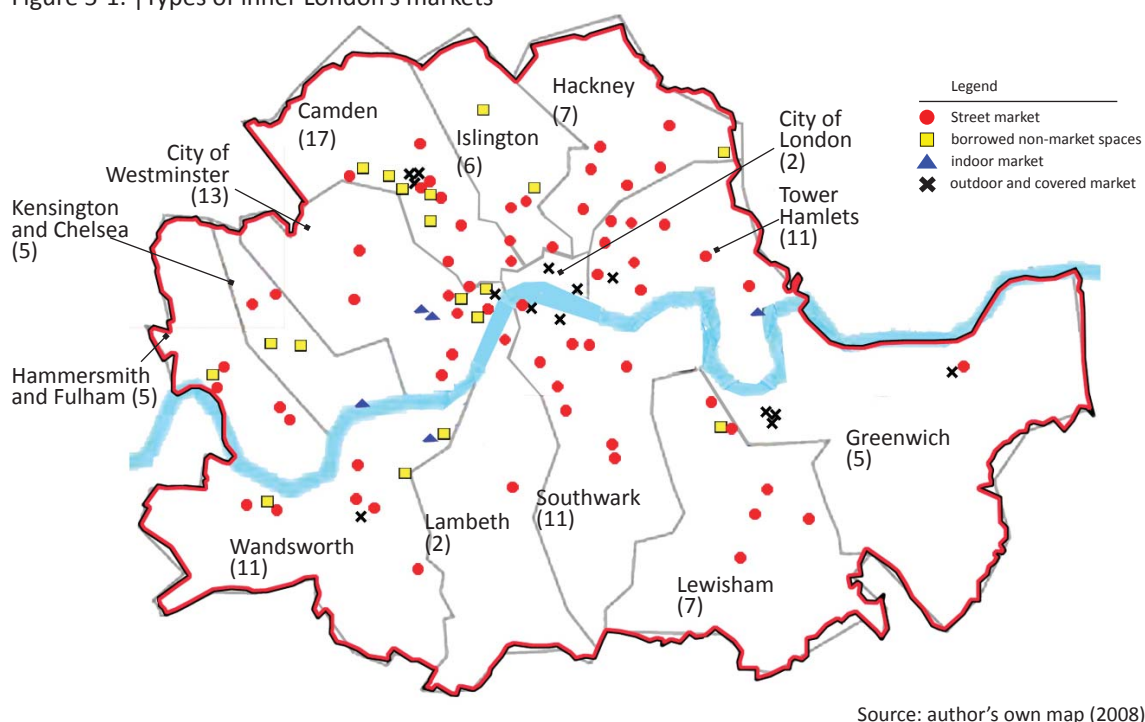


Table 5A. Typology with location, types of produce and products, and times of operation in inner London

Physical form/times of operation	Street markets	Indoor markets	Covered outdoor markets	Outdoor markets on private land	Markets on Borrowed non-market space	Totals
Daily	43(0/42/1)*	5(2/0/3)	7(2/2/3)	4(0/1/3)	4(0/2/2)	63(4/47/12)
Casual	22(0/13/9)	-	-	3(0/0/3)	14(0/2/12)	39(0/15/24)
Totals	65(0/55/10)	5(2/0/3)	7(2/2/3)	7(0/1/6)	18(0/4/14)	102(4/62/36)

\*(wholesale/general/specialist, food, farmers')(Author's own summary, 2008)

Considering all aspects of the morphological review of traditional inner London markets, street markets (65 out of the total of 102) are the dominant type. Table 5B provides a list of the

street markets in the inner London boroughs, with an indication of the times of operation, type of produce and products, and management bodies. Markets on borrowed non-market spaces (18 out of 102) come a distant second.

Considering the type of produce and products on offer, 62 general markets out of 102 which sell a general selection of products and foodstuffs are the prevailing type amongst inner London's traditional markets, and quite a few markets (36 out of 102) deal in antiques, farm produce, and artisan food. Considering times of operation, 63 daily markets out of 102 at 61.8% are also dominant, 39 out of 102 with 38.2% being casual markets. Most of the casual markets are street markets, and markets on borrowed non-market spaces where they share the spaces with other functions.

Considering management bodies, the majority of the markets are in public ownership and managed by local authorities and community ownership, although management bodies are diverse. The majority of indoor, covered or uncovered outdoor markets, and markets on borrowed non-market space are managed by private-sector organisations.

**Table 5B. Street Markets in inner London**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
London Borough of Islington (4)	Exmouth Market	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Whitecross Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Chapel Market	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Camden Passage	Daily use	Local authority + private	Specialist market
London Borough of Camden (9)	Inverness Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Leather Lane	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Earlham Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Goodge Place	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Camden Market	Daily use	Private	General market
	Plender Street	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Chalton Street	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Queen's Crescent	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Swiss Cottage	Casual use	Private	General market
City of Westminster (7)	Church Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Strutton Ground	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Tachbrook Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Berwick, Rupert Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Bayswater Road	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Piccadilly Market	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Pimlico farmers' Market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market

**Table 5B. Street Markets in inner London (continued)**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
London Borough of Tower Hamlets (9)	Whitechapel Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Bethnal Green Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Burdett Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Lansbury Market (Chrip Street)	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Watney Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Brick Lane (Club Row)	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Columbia Road flower market	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Roman Road (new market)	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Petticoat Lane	Daily use	Local authority	General market
London Borough of Hackney (6)	Kingsland Waste	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Ridley Road (Dalston Market)	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Hoxton Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Well Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Chatsworth Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Broadway Market	Casual use	Local authority, private	General market
Royal Borough of Greenwich (1)	Plumstead Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market

**Table 5B. Street Markets in inner London (continued)**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
London Borough of Southwark (9)	Bermondsey Market (new Caledonian Market)	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Choumert Road, Rye Lane	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	East Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Elephant and Castle	Daily use	Local authority + private	General market
	Peckham farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	South Bank Market	Casual use	Local authority	Specialist market
	Southwark Park Road	Daily use	Private	General market
	Westmoreland Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Tower Bridge Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
London Borough of Lewisham (6)	Catford	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Catford Broadway	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Grove Park	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Douglas Way	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Deptford High Street	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Lewisham High Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market

**Table 5B. Street Markets in inner London (continued)**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
London Borough of Lambeth(2)	Lower Marsh and The Cut	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Brixton Market	Daily use	Local authority	General market
London Borough of Wandsworth(6)	Hildreth Street	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Northcote Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Battersea High Street	Casual use	Local authority	General market
	Clapham Junction	Casual use	Private	General market
	Putney flea market	Casual use	Private	Specialist market
	Putney	Casual use	Private	General market
London Borough of Hammer-smith and Fulham (4)	North End Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Shepherd's Bush	Daily use	Private	General market
	Hammersmith	Daily use	Private	General market
	Earl's Court	Casual use	Private	General market
Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (2)	Portobello Road	Daily use	Local authority	General market
	Golborne Road	Casual use	Local authority	General market

(Author's own summary, data obtained from Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983; Cooper, 1974; Benedetta, 1936; market websites)

**Table 5C. Indoor Markets in inner London**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
City of Westminster (2)	Queensway Market	Daily use	Private	Specialist market
	Gray's Antiques	Daily use	Private	Specialist market
London Borough of Tower Hamlets (1)	Billingsgate fish market	Daily use	City of London	Wholesale market
London Borough of Wandsworth(1)	New Covent Garden flower market	Daily use	City of London	Wholesale market
Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (1)	King's Road Antiques (Chelsea Antiques Market)	Daily use	Private	Specialist market

(Author's own summary, data obtained from Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983; Cooper, 1974; Benedetta, 1936; market websites)

**Table 5D. Covered Outdoor Markets in inner London**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
City of London (2)	Leadenhall Market	Daily use	City of London	General market
	Smithfield Market	Daily use	City of London	Wholesale market
City of Westminster (1)	Covent Garden	Daily use	Private	Specialist market + food market
Royal Borough of Greenwich (1)	Greenwich Central Market	Daily use	Private	Specialist market + food market
London Borough of Southwark (1)	Borough Market	Daily use	Community organisation	Wholesale market+ food market
London Borough of Tower Hamlets (1)	Old Spitalfields Market	Daily use	Private	Specialist market+ food market
London Borough of Wandsworth (1)	Tooting	Daily use	Private	General market

(Author's own summary, data obtained from Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983; Cooper, 1974; Benedetta, 1936; market websites)

**Table 5E. Uncovered Outdoor Markets in inner London**

Borough	Name	Times	Management bodies	Types of produce
Camden (3)	Camden Lock Market	Daily use	Private	Specialist market + food market
	Stables Market	Daily use	Private	Specialist market + food market
	Camden Canal Market	Casual use	Private	Specialist market + food market
Greenwich (3)	Greenwich Craft Market	Casual use	Private	Specialist market
	Greenwich Antique Market	Casual use	Private	Specialist market
	Woolwich Market	Daily use	Local authority	General market
Southwark (1)	Gabriel's Wharf	Daily use	Private	Specialist market + flea market

(Author's own summary, data obtained from Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983; Cooper, 1974; Benedetta, 1936; market websites)



**Table 5F. Markets on borrowed non-market space in inner London**

Borough	Name	Times	Operators	Types of produce
Islington (2)	Islington farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Nag's Head	Daily use	Private	General market
Camden (5)	Swiss Cottage farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Primrose Hill farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Queens Park farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Electric Ballroom	Casual use	Private	Specialist market
	Hampstead Community Market	Daily use	Community	General market
City of Westminster (3)	Marylebone farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Charing Cross collectors fair	Casual use	Private	Specialist market
	The Courtyard, St Martin's	Daily use	Private	Specialist market
Hackney (1)	Hackney stadium	Casual use	Local authority	General market
Lewisham (1)	Blackheath farmers' market	Daily use	Private	Farmers' market
Wandsworth (3)	Wandsworth farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Clapham farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Nine Elms	Casual use	Private	General market
Hammersmith and Fulham (1)	Lyric Square farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
Kensington and Chelsea (2)	Notting Hill Gate farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market
	Kensington farmers' market	Casual use	Private	Farmers' market

Author's own summary, data obtained from Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983; Cooper, 1974; Benedetta, 1936; market websites

### **Street Markets (Table 5B)**

Reviewing the characteristics of street markets specifically, according to the morphological review of market types, street markets are the most dominant type, with a total of 65 (63.7%) in operation, whereas there are 18 (17.6%) markets on borrowed non-market spaces, and 19 (18.6%) markets are indoor, covered, or outdoor markets. Considering the types of produce and products sold in street markets, which suggest users' needs and preferences, the general market is still the most dominant amongst all the street markets despite the rise in specialist, food, and farmers' markets. Out of the 65 street markets, 55 are general markets whereas only 10 markets sell antiques, food, and farm produce. Times of operation of street markets tend to match the types of produce in that most of the general street markets are in daily use (42 out of 55). The public sector operates 54 of 65 street markets as they are managed by local authorities. Three street markets are run jointly by the private and public sectors although they are owned by local authorities.

### **Indoor, covered, and uncovered outdoor markets (Table 5C, 5D and 5E)**

Table 5C deals with indoor markets, table 5D with covered markets, and table 5E with outdoor markets. All the tables indicate the types of products sold, the times of operation, and the types of management body such as public or private sector or community organisation. The indoor and covered and uncovered outdoor markets, except street markets and markets on borrowed non-market spaces, are 19 out of 102 markets.

Most of the indoor and uncovered outdoor markets are located on private land whereas covered outdoor markets are on public or private lands. The majority of these markets deal with antiques, artisan food and farm produce. Only two covered outdoor markets and one uncovered outdoor market out of 11 covered and uncovered outdoor markets deal in general produce. Wholesale markets are located in two indoor markets and two covered markets. Three out of five indoor markets and six out of seven uncovered outdoor markets accommodate specialist, food and farmers' markets. The majority of indoor, covered, and uncovered outdoor markets are also in daily use (all the indoor markets and covered outdoor markets and four out of seven uncovered outdoor markets). Private sector organisations provide management for all the markets on private land whilst the wholesale markets (Billingsgate, Smithfield, and the New Covent Garden flower markets) are managed by the City of London.

### **Markets on borrowed non-market spaces (Table 5F)**

Table 5F deals with markets on borrowed non-market spaces. Considering markets on borrowed non-market spaces, only four of these markets are general markets in daily use. Most of the markets on borrowed non-market spaces deal with a specific type of produce. There are 12 farmers' markets and two specialist markets. The farmers' markets are managed by the London Farmers' Markets Association.

## **5.3 Historical overview of the development of inner London's traditional markets**

Some markets were affected by the historical changes in their urban contexts more than others. Street markets would be affected by changes to street patterns although this would be a rare event in historic urban areas. Such changes might result in a market being moved, or adapted to fit the new urban pattern. The other market typologies might be affected in different ways, such as when there is a change in ownership of private sites, or redevelopment of the market area.

Firstly, in order to understand the changes over time to the local contexts of some of London's traditional markets, this research reviewed the forces driving these changes. Secondly, reflecting the influence of these driving forces, changes in spatial types in relation to locations, types of produce, times of operation, and management regimes was explored using the five market types developed from the typological analysis.

Appendix 5-1 presents an historical overview of inner London's traditional markets in terms of types of locations, times of operation, types of produce and products, and types of management bodies with a brief history of their development. Historically, the most distinctive fact is that most of inner London's traditional markets have operated for over 100 years. Despite the forces driving changes in the local context, the location of markets and times of operation have rarely changed. This suggests that inner London's traditional markets have maintained their continuity in relation to urban space and operations over time.

### **5.3.1 Forces driving changes in local contexts**

London's traditional markets have been shaped by economic supply and demand, and in relation to the convenience of collecting and distributing produce. London's early markets,

Westcheap (or Cheapside) and Eastcheap, were located on streets near the waterfront and on the wharves of the River Thames. Another factor in relation to the origin of London's markets is fairs, held within the City walls. They occurred on religious or pagan holidays which were symbolic times when many people would visit markets (Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983).

In the Middle Ages, the open retail street markets, Westcheap and Eastcheap, supplied products to a small city, but as the population of London grew, so did the number and size of its markets, being set up in open spaces. Markets also specialised in a certain product, such as fish in Billingsgate or meat in Smithfield market. Meanwhile, the Great Fire of 1666 caused significant damage to those markets, but this presented an opportunity to reconstruct the markets with a view to greater safety and mobility within the local area. Due to the increase in the city's population, its markets expanded beyond the medieval walls, and new daily markets serving weekly paid working-class people began to thrive in the Victorian era (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983).

Markets continued to develop in size and number since then, and, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the introduction of the railways contributed to the development of new markets, allowing foodstuffs to be brought from all parts of the country (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983). The introduction of the railways brought wholesale markets to locations around the railway stations, and buildings or structures were designed to store the large volume of wholesale produce so these became the early covered markets (Harriss, 2006). Functional obsolescence affected these buildings on the market sites, and poor facilities were modernised in the old wholesale markets such as Billingsgate and Smithfield in the mid 20th century (Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983).

As well as the growth in population and technology to transport produce, social change is another critical driving force affecting London's markets. The markets developed and served diverse user groups of differing ethnicity and social status. The multi-ethnicity of London has influenced its markets (Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983). Many street markets, for example, Queens Crescent, Chalton Street, Camden, Whitechapel Road, Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane, Ridley Road, East Street, Deptford High Street, Lewisham High Street and Clapham Junction markets, cater to working class people, and immigrants (Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983). With ethnic food and produce, they cater to a multi-ethnic clientele both from the locality and from across London.

Indoor markets accommodated specialist goods such as antiques, catering to the upper classes, and these markets expanded in the 1960s and 1970s (Cooper, 1974). Some other markets also serve a range of users such as office workers and affluent people from the local area depending on the surrounding land uses. The surroundings of some markets are affected by new development, for example, Northcote Road, Brick Lane, Earlham Street and Covent Garden, with the introduction of new bars, cafes and branded food shops.

Moreover, socio-economic changes in the formal retail sector represented by the growing presence or dominance of chain stores on the high street, and the introduction of supermarkets and shopping malls as well as online shopping in the 2000s were driving forces affecting the viability of London's traditional markets bringing competition to the urban retail environment. The rise of formal retail spaces selling high quality products, at competitive prices, and with effective distribution systems, has been noted as the most significant factors causing the decline in the traditional market sector since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983).

London's traditional markets have developed commercially over time. Forces such as population growth and technology development affected street, covered and indoor markets alike. The types of produce and times of operation have also been adapted to users' needs and preferences. As a result, they have accommodated diverse user groups especially in ethnicity and class.

### 5.3.2 Street markets under local authority management

Some markets have disappeared or are in decline, but half of inner London's markets are street markets. Most of the street markets have maintained their locations and kept the same times of operation (Appendix 5-1). Some markets such as Cutler Street, Camberwell, London Bridge, and the Arches Market have disappeared. Some other markets such as Charton Street Market, Portobello Road and Battersea High Street Market have reduced their operations from daily to casual use.

Local authorities have been involved in the management of street markets since the early 1900s, and in some cases even longer. According to the London Local Authorities Act 1990, local authorities control street trading, such as pitch locations and size, and equipment with a view to maintaining public access and safety. In addition, traders' associations were organised

and have been involved in the operation of street markets in order to safeguard traders' working rights.

### 5.3.3 Covered outdoor markets under private and community management

Some covered outdoor markets which were operated for wholesale trading have moved and have had to adapt to new locations (Appendix 5-1). The forces promoting redevelopment have tested the resilience of covered wholesale markets in London. Government and developers sought to relocate or remove the old markets for development of offices and residential uses on the sites, but the trading in these markets has often been sustained thanks to local community groups' social actions through protests and support for alternative proposals (Harriss, 2006; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983).

One well-known example of a covered outdoor market, Covent Garden, represents the change effected by the local community group's action. The market, owned by an aristocratic landlord, opened in the 1630s as a publicly accessible market. The building was designed by Inigo Jones and permanent shops were introduced in 1830. However, large-scale housing developments of the 1960s and 1970s in Charing Cross, in addition to the traffic congestion caused by the market, led to the decision to relocate the wholesale market and to propose the removal of the original market building. The wholesale fruit, vegetable and flower market was originally planned to be relocated to Nine Elms around Battersea Park in 1974. However, as a result of social action by the community which maintained that the social activity of the market was crucial to the vibrancy of the area, the wholesale market was relocated as planned, but the Covent Garden market building structure remained in its location and was redeveloped as a high-end retail market with some indoor shops, using its historic buildings. The ownership has been changed since 2000 and it is currently owned by Capital and Counties, with the market being developed and promoted as a tourist attraction.

Another example of a redeveloped covered outdoor market is Old Spitalfields Market, where the fruit and vegetable wholesale market was to be relocated to make way for a new financial quarter consisting of offices, a shopping mall, and flats planned by a developer. After the relocation of the wholesale market, a campaign named Spitalfields Market Under Threat (SMUT) organised legal action, and subsequently new market trading was introduced in the old building. The covered outdoor market has been operated by private-sector organisations since its redevelopment. It replaced the types of supply - wholesale - with new retail trading, such as

farmers' produce, artisan food, crafts, and antiques aimed at middle-class people and tourists (Jacobs, 1993). The only wholesale market still surviving in Central London is Smithfield Market.

Borough Market also survives as a wholesale covered market owned and managed by a community trust, the Borough Market Trust (BMT). The market started around London Bridge in the Middle Ages and was officially recorded in the 1700s (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). In the 18th century, the market was under threat of removal for the traffic congestion that it was causing on Borough High Street, so the community was handed control of the market by the government and has managed it in the current location under Royal Charters ever since. From the late 1980s, Borough Market went into decline and the community organisation, Borough Market Trust, decided to refurbish and change its pattern of use, by adding a quality food retail market to the existing activities of the fruit and vegetable wholesale market. These changes were implemented in planned phases. Today the market operates as both a wholesale food market during the weekday mornings (2-6am), and as a retail food market from Thursday to Saturday. Borough Market has therefore become a dual use market.

#### 5.3.4. Farmers' markets under private sector management

Distinctive examples of markets on borrowed non-market spaces are farmers' markets (Appendix 5-1). These new markets have increased in number since the first farmers' markets opened in Islington in 1999. Many of the farmers' markets in inner London are operated by the London Farmers' Markets Association. The farmers' markets serve middle-class people in the local areas (Watson and Studdert, 2006).

The historical overview reveals that inner London's traditional markets are evolving. Markets operated by private sector organisations have been transformed to high-end retail markets or created farmers' markets for tourists and affluent people in their local areas. Whereas street markets on public lands have been managed by local authorities, controlling the conflict over uses, some of the covered outdoor markets that have transferred their ownership to private sector or community organisations have been redeveloped to provide new market trading focused on tourists.

## 5.4 Characteristics of the socio-economic context and socio-cultural demographics of inner London market areas

Regardless of the spatial types, the markets in operation today have adapted to the changing user groups within the local context. London's markets have traditionally been local markets serving local, mostly working-class residents since the Victorian era (Harriss, 2006). In addition, they have served diverse user groups that have changed over time due to immigration and economic redevelopment. Immigration has given rise to many markets, for example, Queens Crescent, Chalton Street, Leather Lane, Camden, Whitechapel Road, Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane, Ridley Road, East Street, Deptford High Street, Lewisham High Street and Clapham Junction markets. With ethnic food and produce, they cater to a multi-ethnic clientele both from the locality and all areas across London, along with tourists (Table 5G).

**Table 5G. User groups of London's markets**

Locations	Name	User groups
Street market	Battersea High Street Market	Local market users
	Bermondsey Market (new Caledonian)	Middle class
	Berwick and Rupert Street Market	Middle class, actors, office workers, locals and tourists
	Bethnal Green Road Market	Local market users
	Brick Lane	Bangladeshi and Jewish
	Camden Market	Ethnic and young people
	Camden Passage	Middle class
	Chalton Street Market	Local Indian and Pakistani
	Chapel and Northcote Road Market	Middle class and working class
	Choumert Road Market and Rye Lane	Afro-Caribbean, Indian and Asian
	Chrisp Street Market	Local market users
	Clapham Junction Market	Local market users and ethnic users
	Deptford High Street Market	Working class and multi-ethnic users
	Douglas Way Market	Local market users
	East Street and Hildreth Street Market	Afro-Caribbean and local market users
	Exmouth Market	Office workers
	Grove Park Market	Local market users



**Table 5G (continued). User groups of London's markets**

Locations	Name	User groups
Street market	Hoxton Street Market	Local market users
	Leather Lane	Office workers
	Lewisham High Street market	Afro-Caribbean and local market users
	Petticoat Lane	Jewish, Pakistani, African and Asian
	Plumstead Road Market	Local market users
	Portobello Road Market	Asian, West Indian, African, American, Portuguese and Japanese
	Putney Market	Local market users
	Queens Crescent Market	Irish, Jamaican and Asian
	Ridley Road Market (Dalston Market)	Indian, Turks, Jews, Asians, Africans and Afro-Caribbean
	Roman Road (New Market) Market	Local market users
	Shepherd's Bush	Asian, Afro-Caribbean, especially popular with Arabs
	Strutton Ground	Office workers
	Tachbrook Market	Local market users
	Well Street Market	Local market users
	Westmoreland Road Market	Local market users
	Whitechapel Road Market	Bangladeshi, Jewish, African, and Asian
	Whitecross Street Market	Office workers
Indoor market	Covent Garden	Office workers, and tourists
	Old Spitalfields market	Middle class
Covered market	Borough Market	Office workers, and tourists
	Leadenhall Market	Office workers
	Tooting	Afro-Caribbean, Irish, South Asian, and local market users
Outdoor market	Camden Canal	Ethnic and young people
	Camden Lock	Ethnic and young people
	Stables Market	Ethnic and young people
	Woolwich Market	Local market users

Author's own summary (adapted from Watson and Studdert, 2006; Harriss, 2006; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004; Shipley and Peplow, 1987; Forshaw and Bergstrom, 1983)

Figure 5-2. | Types of produce in inner London's markets

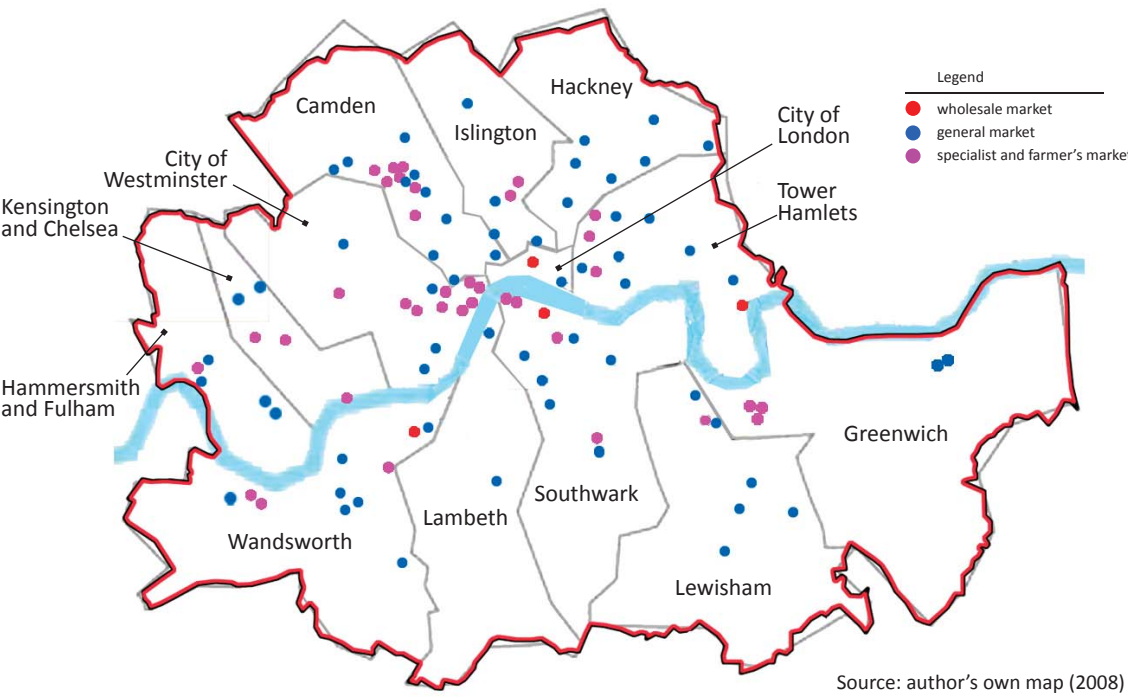


Figure 5-3. | Types of inner London's markets with distribution of black and ethnic minority population

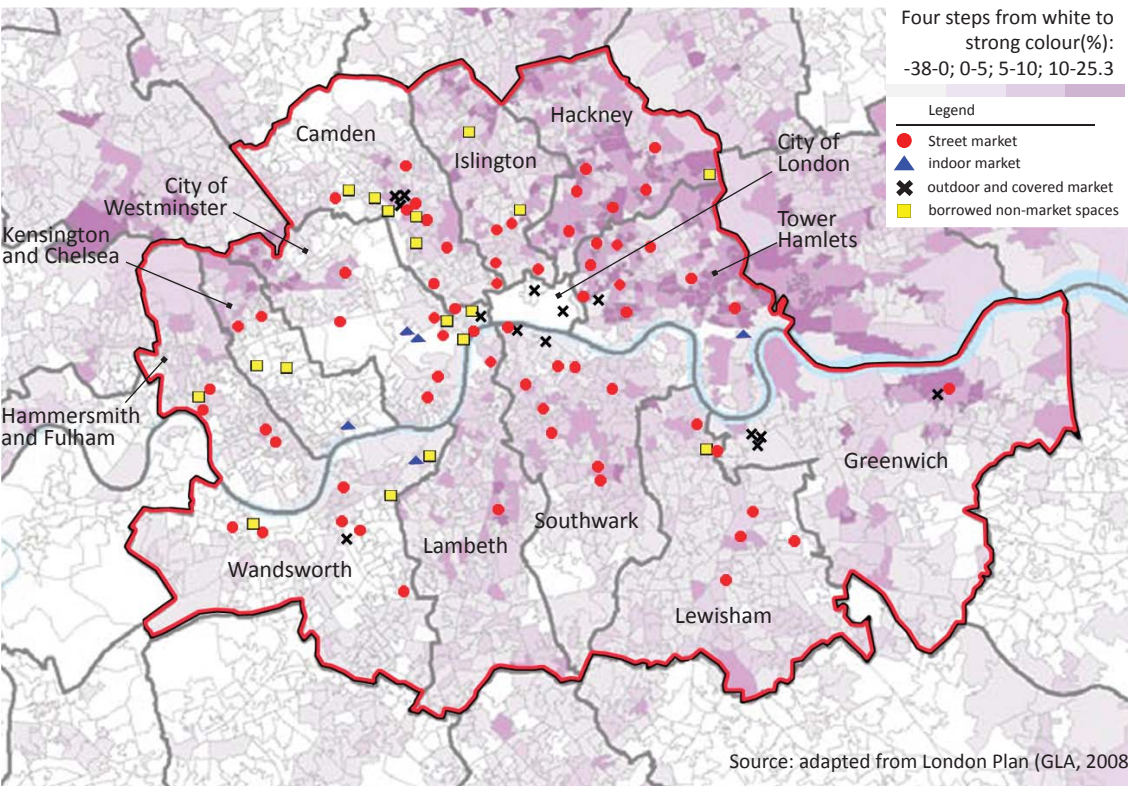


Figure 5-4. |Types of produce in inner London's markets located in areas of deprivation, 2007

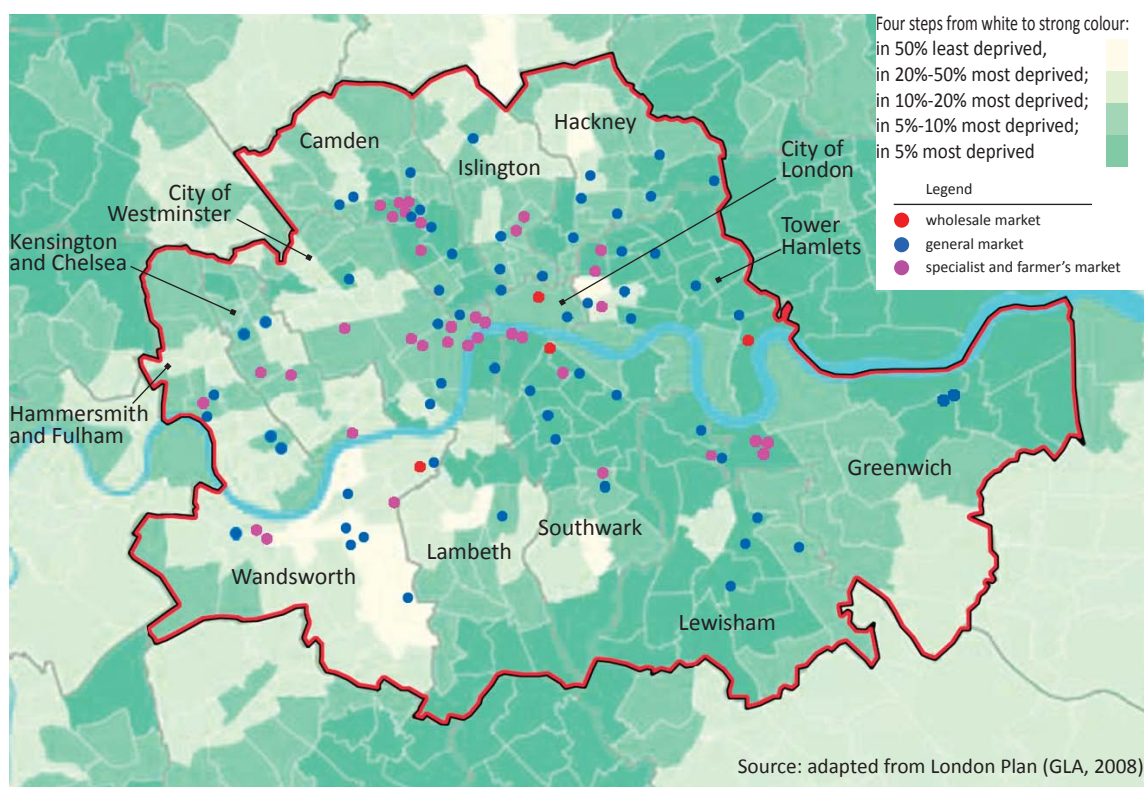
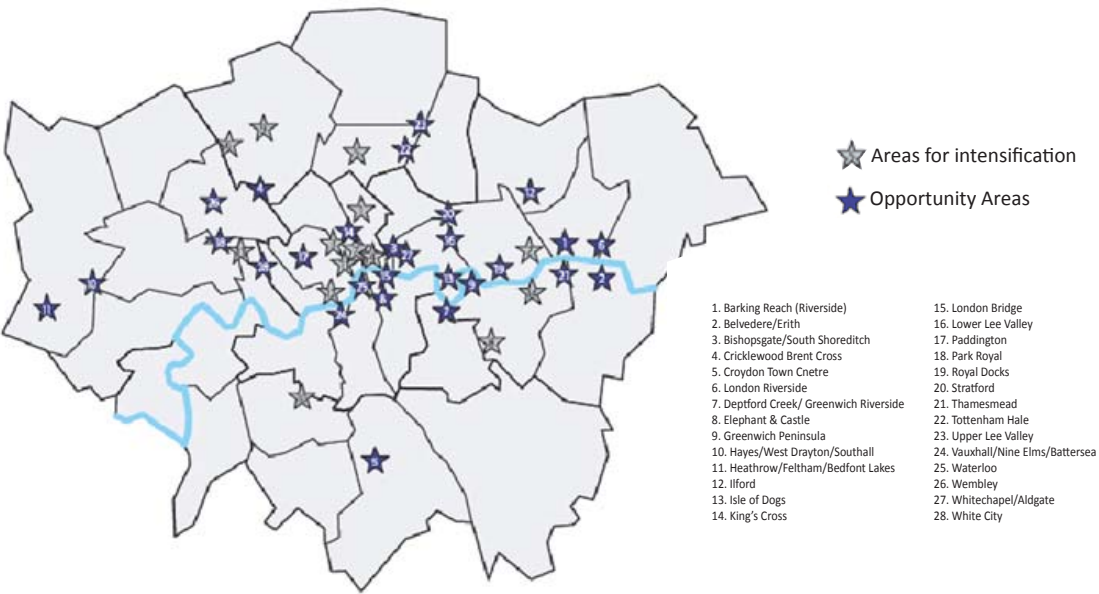


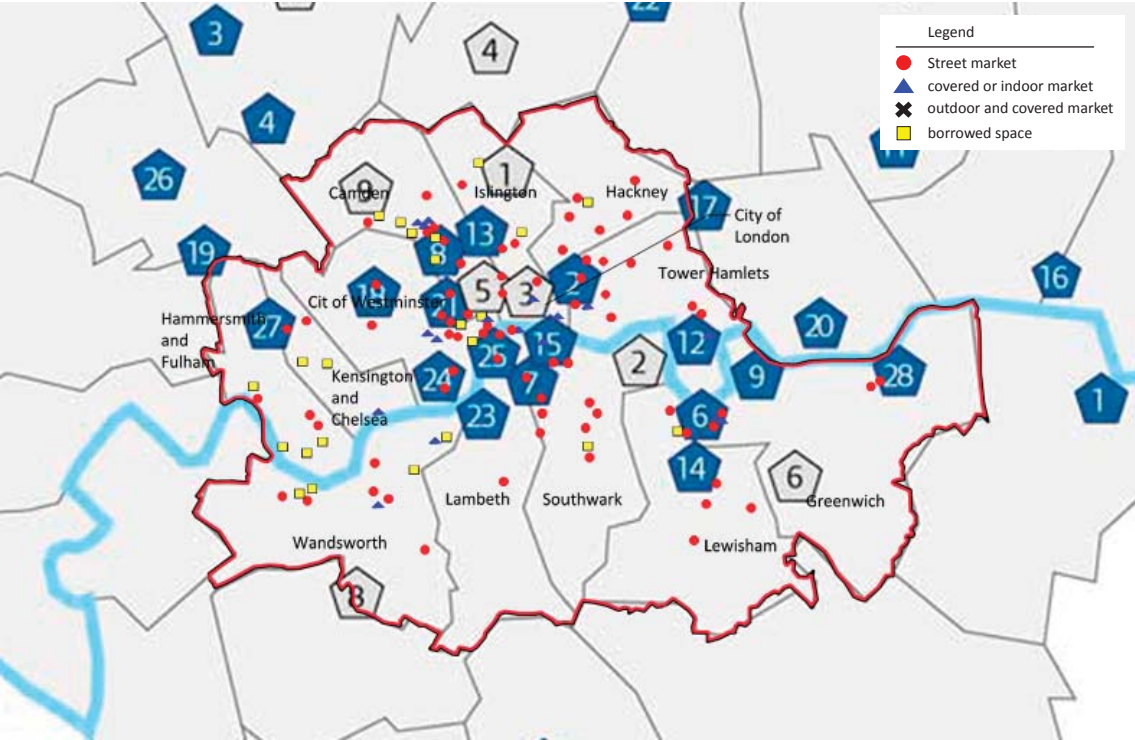


Figure 5-5. | Opportunity Areas and Areas for intensification in Greater London



Source: London Plan (GLA, 2008)

Figure 5-6. | Types of inner London’s markets in Opportunity Areas and Intensification Areas



Source: adapted from London Plan (GLA, 2008)

London is a Metropolitan city with significant contrasts in the social-economic and socio-cultural demographics within the various areas of the inner city. In order to understand the characteristics of the user groups for each of inner London's traditional markets, an initial investigation of the levels of economic deprivation and ethnicity within the local context of the markets was undertaken. London has been defined by the geographical distribution of various socio-economic groups within the inner city, presenting socio-economic contrasts between areas (Figure 5-2). The eastern part of London is associated with deprived areas, while a high proportion of black and ethnic minority groups are present in east London according to the socio-cultural demographics reported by the local boroughs. The western part of London has traditionally had a relatively low proportion of ethnic minority residents although all the areas in inner London can be characterised by multiple ethnicity and a mixed community (Figure 5-3 and Table 5H).

Regarding the locations of inner London's traditional markets and the demographic characteristics of their local areas, the markets serve a variety of user groups in ethnicity and socio-economic status (Figure 5-2 and 5-3). General markets are located in the eastern part of London. 35 out of 65 street markets are located in the eastern part of London, which suggests that they serve low-income and ethnic people in the local areas (Figure 5-3). Farmers' markets are found in the western and southern parts of London (Table 5H), which are affluent or less-deprived areas (Figure 5-4). In particular, 11 of 12 farmers' markets are in the western part of London, which suggests that these markets serve the upper or middle classes. Most of them are located within six boroughs in the western part of London, which include the London Boroughs of Islington, Camden, Kensington and Chelsea, Hammersmith and Fulham, Wandsworth, and the City of Westminster.

**Table 5H. Ethnic composition of inner London boroughs**

Borough	Population	Ethnicity
City of London	7,185	White: 6,075 (84.6%), mixed: 163 (2.3%), Asian or Asian British: 491 (6.8%), Black or Black British: 184 (2.5%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 272 (3.8%)
Camden	198, 020	White: 144,896 (73.2%), mixed: 7,429 (3.7%), Asian or Asian British: 20,551 (10.4%), Black or Black British: 16,374 (8.3%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 8,770 (4.4%)
Hackney	202,824	White: 120,468 (59.4%), mixed: 8,501 (4.2%), Asian or Asian British: 17,414 (8.6%), Black or Black British: 50,009 (24.6%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 6,432 (3.2%)
Hammersmith and Fulham	165,242	White: 128,602 (77.8%), mixed: 6,300 (3.8%), Asian or Asian British: 7,333 (4.5%), Black or Black British: 18,397 (11.1%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 4,610 (2.8%)
Islington	175,797	White: 132,464 (75%), mixed: 7,234 (4%), Asian or Asian British: 9,484 (5%), Black or Black British: 20,856 (12%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 5,759 (3%)
Greenwich	214,403	White: 165,335 (77.1%), mixed: 5,860 (2.7%), Asian or Asian British: 14,539 (6.8%), Black or Black British: 23,754 (11.1%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 4,915 (2.3%)
Lambeth	266,169	White: 166,058 (62.4%), mixed: 12,854 (4.7%), Asian or Asian British: 12,164 (4.6%), Black or Black British: 68,544 (25.8%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 6,539 (2.5%)
Lewisham	248,922	White: 164,098 (65.9%), mixed: 10,399 (4.2%), Asian or Asian British: 9,450 (3.8%), Black or Black British: 58,260 (23.4%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 6,715 (2.7%)
Kensington and Chelsea	158,919	White: 124,924 (78.6%), mixed: 6,505 (4.1%), Asian or Asian British: 7,737 (4.9%), Black or Black British: 11,081 (6.9%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 8,672 (5.5%)
Southwark	244,866	White: 154,316 (63%), mixed: 9,146 (3.7%), Asian or Asian British: 9,951 (4.1%), Black or Black British: 63,416 (25.9%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 8,037 (3.3%)
Tower Hamlets	196,106	White: 100,799 (51.4%), mixed: 4,873 (2.5%), Asian or Asian British: 71,807 (36.6%), Black or Black British: 12,742 (6.5%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 5,885 (3%)
Wandsworth	260,380	White: 202,978 (78%), mixed: 8,728 (3.4%), Asian or Asian British: 18,044 (6.9%), Black or Black British: 25,066 (9.6%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 5,564 (2.1%)
Westminster	181,286	White: 132,715 (73.2%), mixed: 7,480 (4.1%), Asian or Asian British: 16,107 (8.9%), Black or Black British: 13,481 (7.5%), Chinese or other ethnic group: 11,503 (6.3%)

Source: National Census 2001

52 out of 102 markets are concentrated in four boroughs, the London Boroughs of Camden, Tower Hamlets, Southwark and the City of Westminster, all adjacent to the City of London (Figure 5-3). 34 out of 65 street markets are located in the four boroughs of Camden, Tower

Hamlets, Southwark, and the City of Westminster, adjacent to the City of London (Figures 5-3 and 5-4). General markets are located in streets in the eastern part of London, which suggest that they predominantly serve low-income and ethnic people (Figures 5-3 and 5-4). Figure 5-5 shows that the Opportunity Areas and Areas for Intensification in the London Plan are also mostly located near to the City of London and in the eastern part of the city. Three out of five indoor markets, five out of seven covered outdoor markets, and four out of seven uncovered outdoor markets are located in the boroughs around the City of London. Particularly, nine out of 12 markets around the City of London deal with artisan food, antiques, and farm produce. In view of the location of the Opportunity Areas and Areas for Intensification (Figures 5-5 and 5-6), on-going changes to the socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts of inner London's markets can be expected.

The analysis of market locations in relation to the socio-economic demographics of inner London reveals that inner London's markets serve a variety of user groups in local areas, but there is a socio-economic contrast. Street markets offer general produce in the eastern part of London, and other typologies provide special produce, including antiques, artisan food, and farm produce in the western part of London. The analysis suggests the most dramatic change to the markets in the areas near the City of London, which have been affected most significantly by gentrification as a result of new developments.

Markets in these locations can benefit from the dramatic changes now being envisaged in the development plans for inner London, such as improved access to public transport. The markets can benefit from the newly densified local areas and town centres, and play roles economically and socially for job creation, healthy food provision, alternative shopping destinations, and vitality as social places for the local community. However, how the markets respond to the changes and needs of the local community will be key in order to maintain markets as public space for all.

## 5.5 Conclusions to the Typological Analysis of London's traditional markets

The typological analysis has detailed the character of inner London's traditional markets by reviewing their morphology, history and the demographics of their user base. This has revealed much about the various aspects of the market tradition in London and the changing circumstances and challenges facing these markets. The four aspects of the morphological

analysis highlight the main differences and similarities between inner London's markets, and provide a basis upon which to select the two case study markets, which will be used for a comparison study, drawing conclusions about the future of inner London's traditional urban markets and their management.

The typological analysis of inner London's traditional markets found that there are five types of locations today: street markets, indoor, covered and uncovered outdoor markets, and markets on borrowed non-market spaces. Street markets, mostly general markets in daily use, are dominant, and have traditionally been operated by local authorities. Indoor markets are run by the City of London in the case of wholesale markets. Specialist markets in daily use are operated by private-sector organisations. Covered outdoor markets tend to be specialist or food markets in daily use managed by local authorities, private sector, or community organisations. Many of the uncovered outdoor markets are specialist or food markets in daily or casual use managed by private sector organisations. Finally, markets on borrowed non-market spaces are in casual use, being mostly farmers' markets managed by the Farmers' Markets Associations.

Historically, the five types of locations have developed commercially. The historical overview of markets suggests that the types of locations, management, times of operation, and types of users are affected by changes in the markets' contexts. Immigration of a different type of user group into the local area, the building of new office or residential developments, and changes in shopping habits in the retail sector generally that bring competition from formal shopping facilities or online shopping, all act to create new challenges for traditional markets.

But these dramatic changes are also opportunities. An advantage that traditional street markets have is the ease with which they can adapt to suit new local users without much physical change although some of them are in decline under local authority management. New product ranges are the key to adapting to new users. The covered and indoor wholesale markets privately operated have undergone particularly radical change in the type of products sold, and in their physical design or actual relocation in the face of development pressures and the need to modernise. Farmers' markets especially, on borrowed non-market spaces, operated and managed by private-sector organisations, have also sharply increased in number since the 1990s and serve affluent people in their local areas. Demographically, street markets have served low-income people, especially ethnic groups in the eastern part of London. Indoor, covered or uncovered outdoor markets serve people in less-deprived areas while farmers'



markets on borrowed non-market space have newly emerged in the western part of London and they serve the less-deprived areas.

Markets have survived as an alternative to formal shopping facilities which are considered bland, mono-functional spaces. However, markets must adapt to survive. They are doing this by taking on new product ranges that are preferred by the more affluent residents in inner London. Nonetheless, there is concern that traditional market users such as low-income groups are being abandoned by markets, as the economic imperative is taking precedence over the need to maintain markets as a community social space. Regarding the historic importance for the local community, public space and market management face the challenge of maintaining markets accessible to all people.



chapter

# 6

Background to Case Study

## 6 Background to Case Study market areas

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### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background information on the two case study markets and their surrounding urban environments. The focus of this chapter will be on the historical development of the markets and their surrounding areas, the local, morphological, and physical characteristics of the surrounding urban environments, the changing demographics of the local populations, and the local authority policy regime and management systems which govern the operation of the markets. This review is important in providing an understanding of both the challenges that management faces in keeping these markets viable and vibrant, and the specific forces driving the changes in the context of each market area.

The specific information on the changes and influences that have affected the local context, and the sense of place and community, was collected from a detailed review of articles in local newspapers which described the incremental changes to, and interventions made in, the local urban environments.

The information sources for Table 6A on Petticoat Lane are:

Essex & East London Newspapers LTD, 1975;  
East End news, 1977; 1961;  
East London Advertiser, 1998; 1965;  
Guardian, 1970;  
Independent London, 1994;  
Jewish Chronicle London Extra, 1989;  
Leader, 1946

The information sources for Table 6D on Borough Market are:

South London Press, 2004; 2000; 1998; 1996; 1972; 1965;  
Southwark News, 2007; 2006; 2004; 2001,  
Daily Express, 1920;  
Southwark Local, 1992; SEI, 1989;  
Guardian, 1992;

The Illustrated London News, 1986; 1853,  
Daily Sketch, 1930;  
Evening Standard, 2003;  
Times, 1933;  
Sunday Times, 1933;  
Daily Telegraph, 1933;  
Architects Journal, 1993

The tables were organised in terms of subject matter on the physical appearance of the area itself, the size and locations of trading areas, management practices, developments in the local surroundings, and ethnicity and socio-economic demographics of the people in the local area.

## 6.2 Petticoat Lane street market

### 6.2.1 History and development (Table 6A)

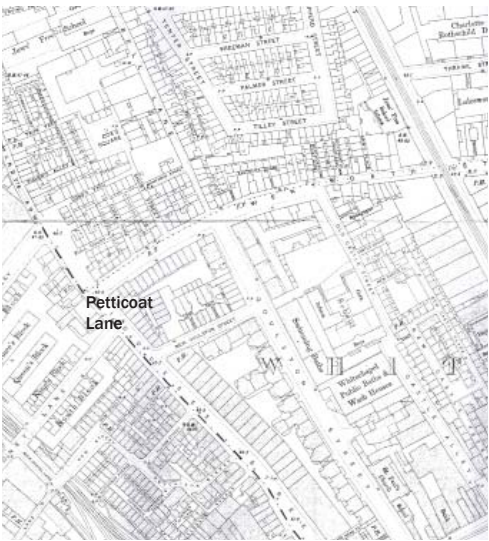
Petticoat Lane street market has been noted in the historical records as a local clothes market as early as the 16th century and it has continued as such to this day, although it has also been known as both a general and a specialist market. Regarding the name, 'Petticoat Lane', it was originally known as Hog Lane which was 'a well-to do neighbourhood full of gardens and cottages and bowling alleys' in the 16th century (Survey of London, 1598). In 1603, Hog Lane became Berwards Lane and then Petticoat Lane. Petticoat Lane was renamed Middlesex Street in 1830 due to Victorian prudery.

The street market was initially set up in the 1500s when the rich settled in this area of Aldgate which was just outside the old walls of the city. By the 1600s, this area had become a small commercial district and the market at that time was called Petticoat Lane. Traditionally, the market traders collected old garments from the rich and sold them to the poor. The rich fled the district due to the plague in 1665-66, followed by the Great Fire in September 1666.

After the Great Fire, the mansions which had been occupied by the rich were replaced by small houses for the labourers as the area was settled by the poor and immigrant groups. Over time, the area has accommodated diverse ethnic groups such as French Huguenots as silk weavers and clothes dealers from the late 1600s, followed by Russians, Poles and Germans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Indians and Pakistanis, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Africans in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 6A| Petticoat Lane - Time Line

Street patterns



1894

Change of the market

Development

People in the local area

**1290** Jews were vanished from England and not allowed to return by Cromwel until 1650.  
**1500s** Many members of the king's court moved in. The influx of noble men resulted in a renaissance for the area. Fashion-consciousness lords and landladies moved in, and second-hand clothes dealers bought discarded clothes from the rich and sold them to the poor.

**1598** A well-to do neighbourhood: full of gardens and cottages and bowling alleys. In Ryther's map Petticoat Lane was described with many old clothes dealers rural features of whitechapel-Elizabethan times. By the next century, the Lane was well into its commercial alliance with the poor selling old clothes.

**1603** Hog Lane became Berwards Lane and Petticoat Lane.

**1608** Due to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the area became place for immigrants such as French Huguenots.

**1625** Due to plague, French immigrants moved in and became silk weavers in Spitalfields. Plague and Great Fire caused many rich people to leave. Due to the Great Fire of London, Elegant mansions of the past were replaced by small houses for labourers. More immigrants came such as Spanish Jews and French Huguenots.

**1700s** Jewish escaping persecution from the Spanish Inquisition sold their clothes and jewellery.

**1800s** Irish came in the area due to famine.

**1830** 'Petticoat lane' as a Sunday market was renamed Middlesex Street.

**1850** Half of the shops sold old and new clothes.

**1858** From the smallest sum to one shilling, a halt penny a month is charged.



1870



1890



1893

Table 6A| Petticoat Lane - Time Line (continued)

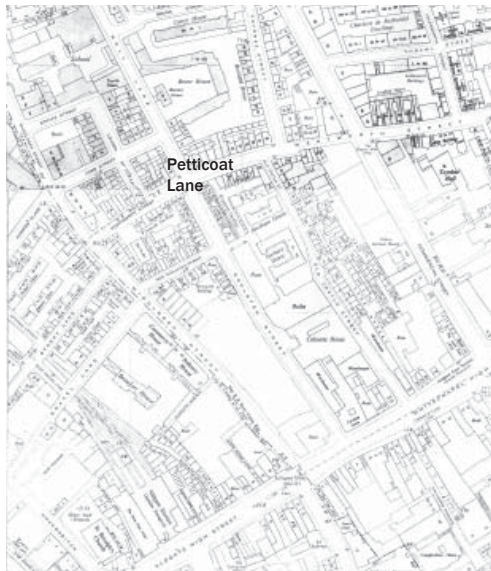
**Street patterns**



1936



1950



1951



1961

**Change of the market Development People in the local area**

**1899** Jews, but especially Russian, Polish, and German

**1926** Indian, Pakistan

**1926** A three foot space between each stall , regulated by Act of Parliament

**1935** Closing was attempted by a private members' Bill in the house of commons. It brought non-Jewish traders and Jewish to bend the Sunday trading restriction.

**1936** official Sunday market

Act of 1936: Parliament agreed that no new Sunday markets could be opened (Sunday trading restriction to some districts), which was based on customary of Jewish orthodox shopkeepers before 1936. 30,000 street traders in London.

Cutler Street warehouses site was considered a fashionable spot, but property developers built houses

**1947** London County Council Act 1947: Annual licenses for street trading

**1949** Cheap rent fee was imposed for cleaning streets.

**1950** Shops Act: protection of a Sunday market

**1959** The bomb site between Middlesex Street and Goulston Street was planned for the arcade by City and Country properties Ltd.

**1960s** Golden age, Rug, trousers and shirts

**1961** Middlesex Street accommodated 261 licensed stallholders. Petticoat lane over 850 stalls. Street traders' association object based on Act of 1936 (later, the shops Act 1950).

Permission to development planning was given to the shopping mall including a private covered market with 264 stalls between Middlesex Street and Goulston Street. It is a 17 storey building. Campaign for the abolition of the Sunday Trading Act insisted that the Act intended local shops to trade on Sundays, while privately-owned markets face extinction under the Shops Act 1950, the privately owned markets can only sell perishable goods although the big profits are made from clothes, furniture and household equipment.

**1964** Traders moved to Aldgate end for a new road improvement scheme.

**1965** It was known as a Secondhand market. The action of Tower Hamlets 'to stop barrow boys in Petticoat Lane from climbing on boxes barrows or any other object, in order to sell their wares'.

Scheme for development of Tyne street site was approved by G.L.C. including 82 flats in a 21 storey block, 12 maisonettes in a 4 storey block, six flats of old people on 2 storey block, garage and shops.

**1966** Stall equipped with toilet requisites, hot water and a dustbin

Compulsory purchase order was imposed for development by the city of London Corporation

**1967** The width of stalls was regulated to 3ft 6in

**1969** The market gave road for development plan. 57 members of Stepney Street Traders Association took up new positions in the City End of the lane-brings part of market into the city boundary. Food and Hygiene Markets Act

**1970** Temporary license/regular license

Board of Guardian moved to West End, Jewish free school moved to Camden town.

**1972** 1,600 stallholders registered to Association The market famous for a Jewish market

**1973** London's only Sunday 'high street' Wentworth street-faster becoming internationally known for the goods and service, on weekdays, not with Cockney tones but with continental and American visitors, but tourists, who bought clothes.



Table 6A| Petticoat Lane - Time Line (continued)

Street patterns



1980



1990

Change of the market

Development

People in the local area

**1974** Puerto Ricans and blacks came to this area.

**1974** Wentworth market is part of Petticoat Lane complex on Sundays but during the week it caters for office workers' lunchtime shopping, especially office girls for fashion. Toynbee Street is the main area for fashion below the shop price. Goulston Street which was fish and poultry area in old days accommodated clothes or kosher poultry stalls. Petticoat Lane was infamous for pickpockets.

**1975** shops were demolished for the Thrawl street redevelopment scheme to develop housings and shops by the council.

**1976** more than a thousand stalls Jewish-rag trade- oil rich Arabs become the biggest customers for light weight trousers and suits, business booming

**1977** 250 stalls (weekday)/850 stalls (Sunday) 75% of stallholders are Jewish. Sunday market for centre of the world's rag trade and the East End's top tourist trap although it was used by Londoners in pre-war days. Discussions with many local groups reveal anxiety to see conservation within redevelopment of Spitalfields. Interim report issued by Tower Hamlets council Council was considering moving families out of one tower's blocks in Commercial Street and using the flats for lorry drivers and students.



1982

**1990** Food hygiene problem

**1991** 1,700 stalls

**1992** Rents were raised for street cleaning by 1,000 pounds a week to stallholders in Wentworth and Middlesex Street. Sub-let pitches were illegal, but were common. Petticoat Lane was infamous for pickpockets.

**1998** Stalls were reduced from 700 to 300, Trading at Bell Lane and Toynbee Lane is vanished.

**1998** Old Spitalfields Market development for clothing stalls, The council said they would limit the amount of fashion to ten percent but that can be increased at any time.

**1999** 100 stalls on weekdays and 400 stalls on Sunday In the talk about vision of Petticoat Lane, traders hoped offer antiques market and international food court on Sundays, or a flower market as shopping habits have changed.

Source: Essex & East London Newspapers LTD, 1975; East End news, 1977; 1961; East London Advertiser, 1998; 1965; Guardian, 1970; Independent London, 1994; Jewish Chronicle London Extra, 1989; Leader, 1946



In its heyday, Petticoat Lane market extended to other streets in the area such as Cobb, Strype, Leyden, Goulston, New Goulston, and Toynbee Streets, and Bell Lane. The adjacent Spitalfields area accommodated the garment industry in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1935, Petticoat Lane faced a closure attempt by members in the House of Commons. As a result, the market was officially recognised by an Act of Parliament in 1936 as the only street market allowed by Royal Charter. Before this it was an informal market but one of the oldest surviving traditional street markets in the UK.

As a result of bomb damage sustained during the Second World War, the street pattern in the East End of the city changed, with some streets becoming wider and longer. Building developments on the vacant bomb sites around the market were encouraged by the City of London Corporation to provide new council housing and shops. As a result, the spatial boundary of the trading area and the location and size of pitches have been adapted over the years due to these new developments in the local area.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the market expanded, to nearly 850 stalls in 1961. As the market began to thrive in that period, traders organised a traders' association to protect and safeguard their rights. With the increase in the number of traders, the traders' association was able to represent traders' needs and rights in the face of local authority control. For example, during the development of new housing and shops, relocation of some pitches and the reduction in the size of other pitches became an issue between the traders and the local authority management of the market. The traders' association protested about these change and removal of pitches for the sake of development. With local business groups, it opposed the plan for a new Sunday market, and a new shopping arcade for Goulston Street, which would threaten the livelihoods of the traders in Petticoat Lane. In the 1970s, Petticoat Lane expanded further to over 1,600 stalls, and business was described as booming.

With regard to times of operation and types of products sold, Petticoat Lane was traditionally recorded as a Sunday clothes market. It was the 'only Sunday shopping destination in the area in the 1970s' (East End News, 1976). It was also a 'second-hand clothes market' in an area which is famous for the rag trade. In particular, the market was known as a 'Jewish market' from the 1800s to the 1970s. Especially in the late 1970s, 70% of the traders were Jewish (Jewish Chronicle London Extra, 1989). However, Russian, Polish, German, Indian, and Pakistani traders were attracted to the market and later Puerto Ricans and blacks, since the Jewish traders had retreated. Many facilities related to the Jewish community, including synagogues, a Jews' Free School and a Jewish Infant School existed in this area until the mid-

20<sup>th</sup> century, when the community moved away to other areas of London (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2007).

In the 1970s, market customers were ethnically diverse, while at weekday lunchtimes the market served office workers from the local area during weekday lunchtimes. The market also became an 'attraction' for European and American tourists in the late 1970s (East End news, 1977). The Sunday market offered buskers and African circus performers alongside the second-hand clothes stalls. The market initially operated only as a Sunday market, but this was expanded to weekdays in the 1970s when it operated along Wentworth Street. On Sundays, the market also extended along Middlesex Street. It is closed on Saturdays, but there is some illegal trading.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the number of stalls increased by 1,600, and this increase in demand for new stalls continued until the early 1990s. The Local authority increased the stall licence fees but traders were still competing for pitches. By 1999, however, the number of stalls had decreased to 400 due to the changes in people's shopping habits which favoured formal shopping facilities on the high streets. The size of Petticoat Lane market diminished and trading at Bell Lane and Toynbee Street was discontinued (Table 6B). With Petticoat Lane market in decline, in 1999, local businesses and traders demanded action from the local authority to restore economic vitality, including the introduction of a new range of goods such as antiques, international food and a flower markets on Sundays.

In summary, Petticoat Lane is an historic clothes market that has served people in the local area such as those on low-income, diverse ethnic groups, office workers, and tourists. There had been changes to the local area such as immigration and development of new council housing and offices. The market has been protected by legislation and also supported by the traders' association and local businesses. It was well known as a Jewish market, but now serves more diverse ethnic groups. Now Petticoat Lane is a street market in decline as a result of changing shopping habits and gentrification in the area so it needs to adapt to survive.

### 6.2.2 Characteristics of the Local and Physical Context of the market

Petticoat Lane is located in Wentworth and Middlesex Streets, near Bishopsgate Road and Whitechapel High Street, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, on the border of the City of London. The market is well served by public transport such as Aldgate, Liverpool Street and Aldgate East railway and underground stations, with bus stops in Bishopsgate Road and Whitechapel High Street. There are both multi-storey car parks and parking spaces in the

Table 6B | Petticoat Lane - change of physical space and users



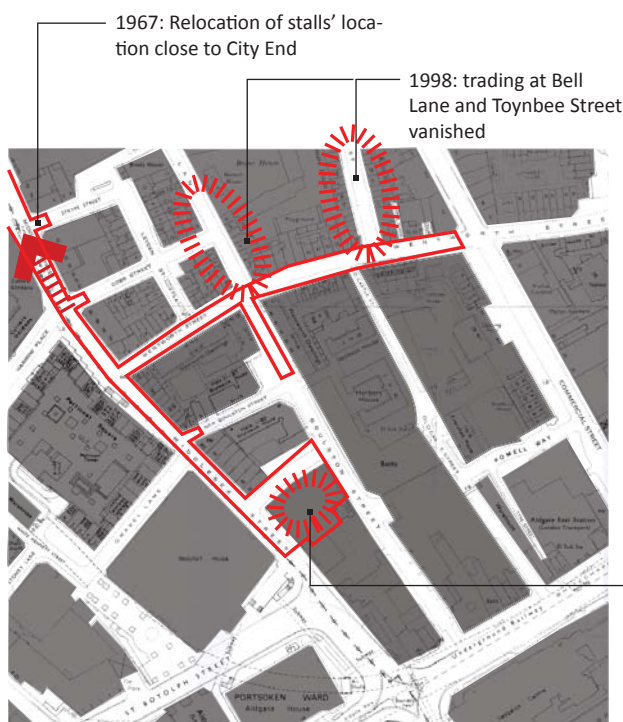
1894  
Middlesex Street, Goulston Street and Wentworth Street were bigger street than others



1894

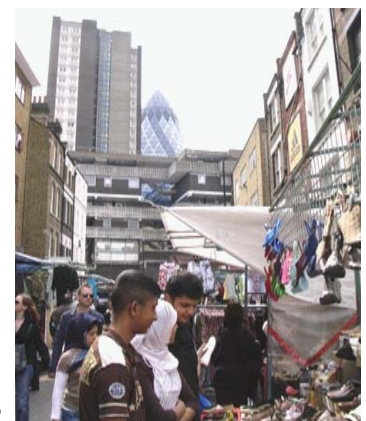


1950s



1990  
Improvement of accessibility, but lost feeling of enclosed space  
Blocks have been amalgamated by developments from small houses or bomb sites  
Small back streets were rearranged and Middlesex Street and Wentworth Street were kept a certain width all the way through to end vehicular movement

1967: Relocation of stalls' location close to City End  
1998: trading at Bell Lane and Toynbee Street vanished  
2006  
1980: trading at a car-parking building on Sundays



2006



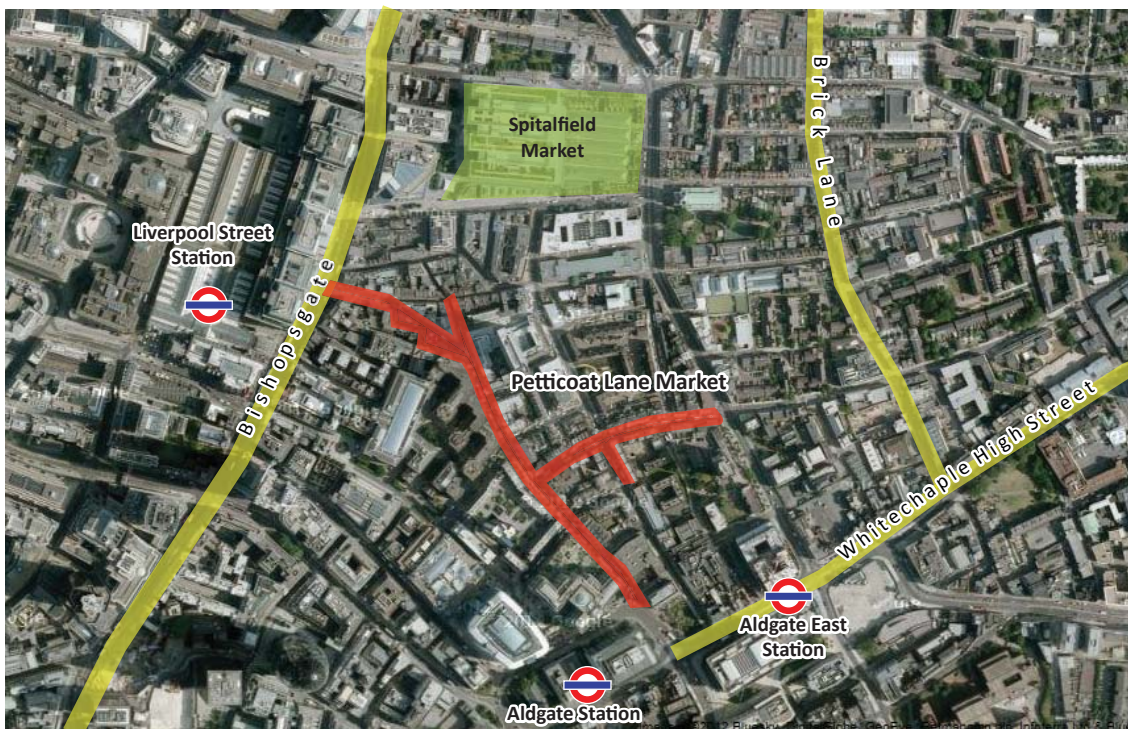
2008

Source: Essex & East London Newspapers LTD, 1975; East End news, 1977; 1961; East London Advertiser, 1998; 1965; Guardian, 1970; Independent London, 1994; Jewish Chronicle London Extra, 1989; Leader, 1946



street. Jewish synagogues and mosques for Bengali residents are situated nearby, along with the London Metropolitan University, small office blocks and council housing. Tourist attractions such as the Tower of London and the Design Museum are located nearby, along the River Thames, within easy reach of Old Spitalfields, Brick Lane, and Whitechapel markets (Figure 6-1).

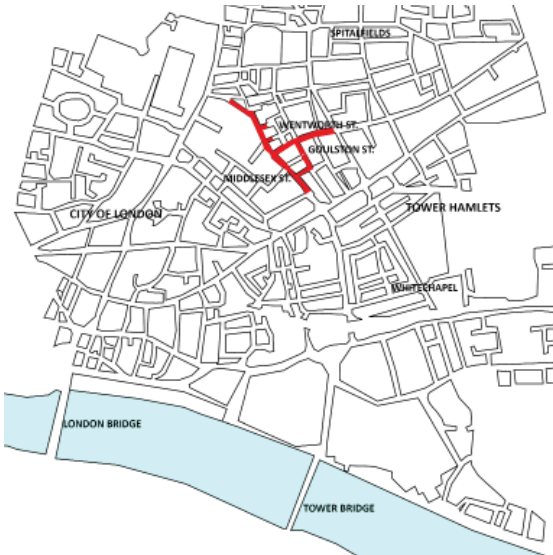
Figure 6-1. | Location of Petticoat Lane



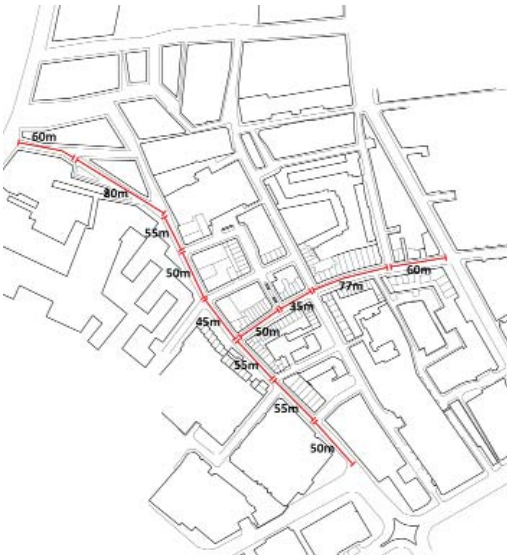
The street layout and alignment around Petticoat Lane has been shaped by the area's historic origins and development, and is characterised by 'a regular grid structure of streets which has its origins in several medieval lanes and passages', and wide 19<sup>th</sup>-century streets, partially altered since the Second World War (Tower Hamlets, 2007a). Middlesex Street is approximately 460m long and Wentworth Street approximately 220m. The distance between junctions ranges from 45m to 80m in Middlesex Street, and between 35m and 77m in Wentworth Street. The width of the roads where stalls are located ranges from 5m to 9m, and averages 7m in Middlesex Street. The curved shapes and angles of the streets show the changing views framed by various four- and five-storey buildings in Middlesex Street and Wentworth Street (Figure 6-2).

Figure 6-2. | street layout and alignment around Petticoat Lane

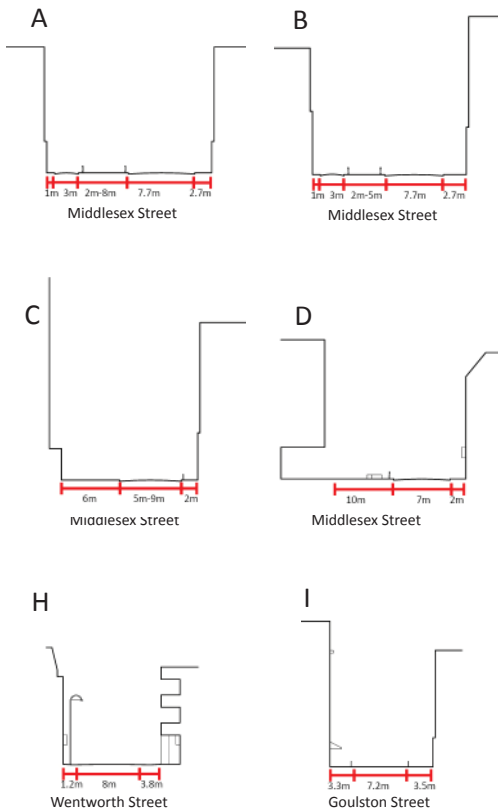
6-2a. Street patterns of local area around Petticoat Lane



6-2b. Street length of Petticoat Lane



6-2c. Street sections of Petticoat Lane (A - I)



Source: author's own data (2008)

Wentworth Street has 19<sup>th</sup> century mixed-use buildings of two to three storeys, and Victorian commercial buildings of four to five storeys. Shops and services are associated with the clothing industry (Tower Hamlets, 2007). Land use consists of offices, retail units, local cafés, and large-scale residential and student accommodation in Middlesex and Wentworth Streets. Newly developed buildings such as a school and housing in Middlesex Street are more than 10 storeys high.

Petticoat Lane is not directly connected to public transport or the High Street, being hidden in the back land area. This means that it is more difficult to find than some of the other markets in the area. Additionally, the gateway arch is located at the less well used entrance to the market. It is obvious that management had not studied usage patterns to establish where pedestrian flows were heaviest, and from which direction most pedestrians came.

### 6.2.3 Social demographics

The total population of Tower Hamlets in 2001 was 196,106 and the population of Spitalfields and Banglatown ward where Petticoat Lane is located was 8,383 (Census, 2001). According to the data on economic deprivation (Census, 2001), the number of people between the age of 16 and 74 who could be considered working age was 6,159 (73.5%) (Tower Hamlets: 143,429 (73.1%)), which was one of the highest proportions of people aged 16 to 74 years in London as a whole.

However, an analysis of the socio-economic groups shows a low profile of individuals with high socio-economic status, while there is high unemployment and a high percentage of individuals in rented housing from the council compared with the borough as a whole. In the Spitalfields and Banglatown ward, the number of high socio-economic status individuals and the number of unemployed are both low compared with the borough as a whole. The occupational profile of the population in this ward between the age of 16 and 74 was made up of 26.1% of professionals and managers (Tower Hamlets: 29.3%, London: 34.3%), 3.0% technical and supervisory occupations (Tower Hamlets: 4.3%, London: 5.0%), and 14.3% of routine and semi-routine occupations (Tower Hamlets: 15.8%) (Census, 2001). The unemployment rate reached 7.2% which is high, as it was 4.4% in London as a whole (Tower Hamlets: 6.6%). Tenure in rented housing from the council was 30.7% which is much higher than 17.1% in London as a whole.

The composition of ethnic groups in the ward was distinctive with the dominant minority being Bangladeshi. In the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, the largest ethnic group was White

British, according to the 2001 Census (42.9%, 100,799). The largest minority ethnic groups were Bangladeshi (65,553, 33.4%), Black African (6,596, 3.4%) and Black Caribbean (5,225, 2.7%). Within the ward of Spitalfields and Banglatown, 22.4% of the population was White British, while Bangladeshis constitute the largest minority ethnic group at 58.1%, which is a higher proportion than the 33.4% in the Borough as a whole. Over 78% of the young people were from minority ethnic groups (Tower Hamlets, 2008).

The statistics in the 2011 Census reveal dynamic changes in the socio-economic demographics with regard to the unemployment rate and proportion of ethnic groups. In the ward, the proportion of the two highest occupational groups such as managers and professionals in the ward reached 36.4% from 26.1 in 2001, and had caught up with the rate in the borough and in London as a whole (Tower Hamlets: 36.1%, London: 36.3%). Although tenure in rented housing from the council decreased to 12.4% which was lower than in the borough generally, and in London as a whole (Tower Hamlets: 17.3%, London: 13.5%), the unemployment rate was still at 7.4% which was higher than in the borough generally, and in London as a whole (Tower Hamlets: 6.7%, London: 5.2%). The percentage of Bangladeshi in the ward was at 37.4%, dropping sharply by 20.7% since 2001, although it still exceeds White British at 25.9%.

The socio-economic demographics suggest that the majority of people in the local area which Petticoat Lane serves were low-income people, many of whom are Bangladeshi. The dramatic changes between 2001 and 2011, when this research was carried out, reveal that affluent people with high profile occupations increased, and the proportion of ethnicity changed. The area now accommodates both low-income and affluent people, and a diverse mix of ethnic groups.

#### 6.2.4 Policy context and Management of the market

According to *Tower Hamlets Council Strategic Plan 2008–2009* (Tower Hamlets, 2008a), the vision that the council and partners aimed to achieve for the borough was ‘a great place to live’ to ‘improve the quality of life for everyone who lives and works in the borough’. This vision stresses community involvement in the development process, ‘irrespective of their age, backgrounds or grasp of English’. Streets and open spaces ‘for everyone to use and enjoy’ are to be delivered by design for safety and attractiveness (Tower Hamlets, 2009). As Tower Hamlets includes office buildings occupied by multinational companies, the socio-economic context of the local area is rapidly changing with new development plans and a diverse mix of neighbourhoods such as the existing Bangladeshi community, and new quarters for business



and financial services. Accordingly, 'multiculturalism' was promoted as a priority for social wellbeing and social cohesion (Tower Hamlets, 2009).

The borough has promoted street markets because they create jobs in small and medium-sized enterprises (Tower Hamlets, 2009), especially 'employment opportunities' for young ethnic groups in the community. They contributed to improved public health by offering healthy food options to young and old (Tower Hamlets, 2007a). Street markets were recognised as shopping facilities that provide products with good value for money, situated within walking distance for local people in the immediate area. Street markets offer retail variety, and contribute to vitality, viability and the local character of the area, creating a sense of place in the town centre (Tower Hamlets, 2009). Therefore, street markets are to be developed as part of a network plan for tourism and leisure as one of the diverse shopping opportunities to attract visitors (Tower Hamlets, 2008; 2006). Accordingly, the local street market strategy specifically sets a vision 'to serve diverse communities', 'support local employment and enterprise' and 'attract people to visit and shop within the Borough' (Tower Hamlets, 2009b).

Petticoat Lane market is located in the Central Activity Zone of the borough and in an Opportunity Area (GLA, 2008, Figure 6-3). The market is located in the Eastern City Fringe (Figure 6-4), 'a transitional area between the central business district of London and the smaller town centres and neighbourhoods of the East End' (Tower Hamlets, 2007a). The Aldgate Master Plan, another economic development plan for the Petticoat Lane area, designated it as a regeneration project (Figure 6-4). The plan also included high-density commercial and residential developments with good access to public transport, and considered Petticoat Lane as one of the cultural and educational assets and open spaces (Tower Hamlets, 2007b).

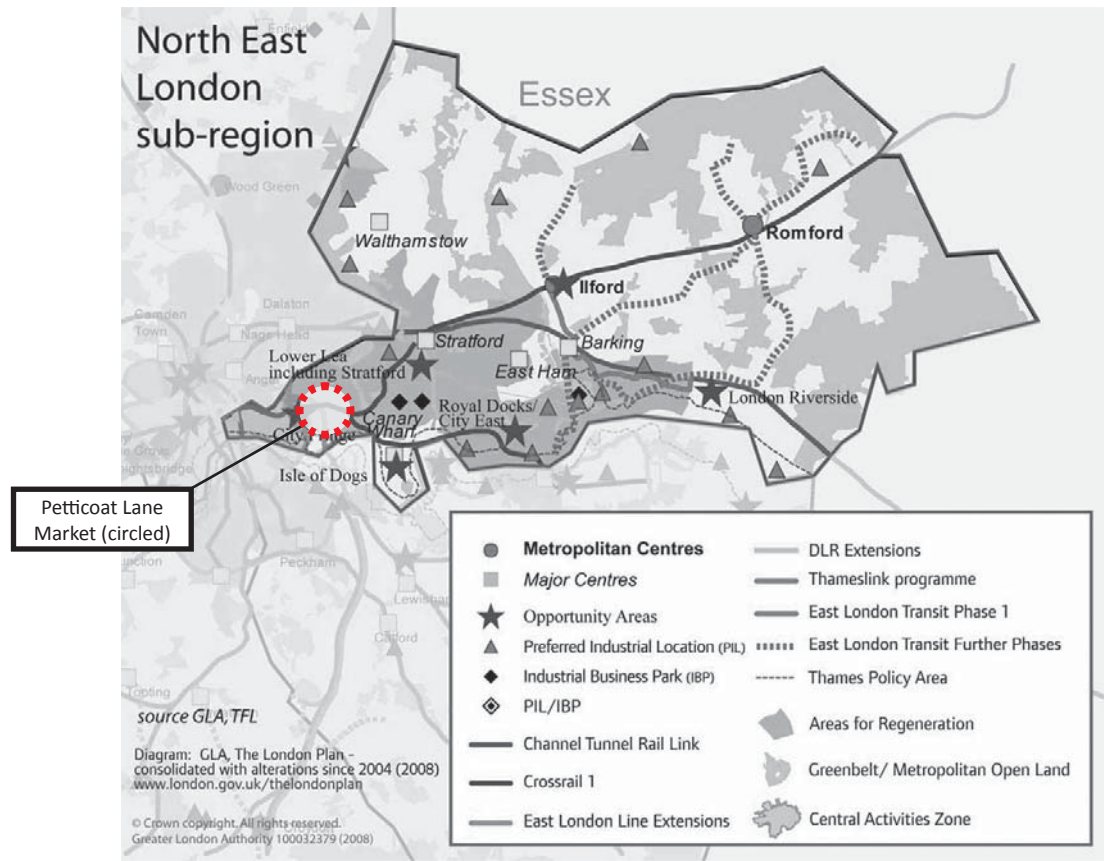
While there are development policies and plans for the local area, both Wentworth and Middlesex Streets, where the street market is located, are in conservation areas, a status that protects and enhances their historic character (Tower Hamlets, 2007b). The conservation policy considered Petticoat Lane market as continuing the heritage of the clothing industry that had been established and developed by the Jewish community in the area until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> and as a space which has been used historically by diverse ethnic groups such as

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<sup>1</sup> This area saw the developed of the garment industry, or 'rag trade', in 18<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the area already accommodated a large Jewish community, and more immigrants arriving in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century from Eastern Europe and Russia at the nearby St Katharine's Docks to the south. This market was known as a Jewish market and, when the community moved away to other areas (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2007) and was replaced by Bengali residents.

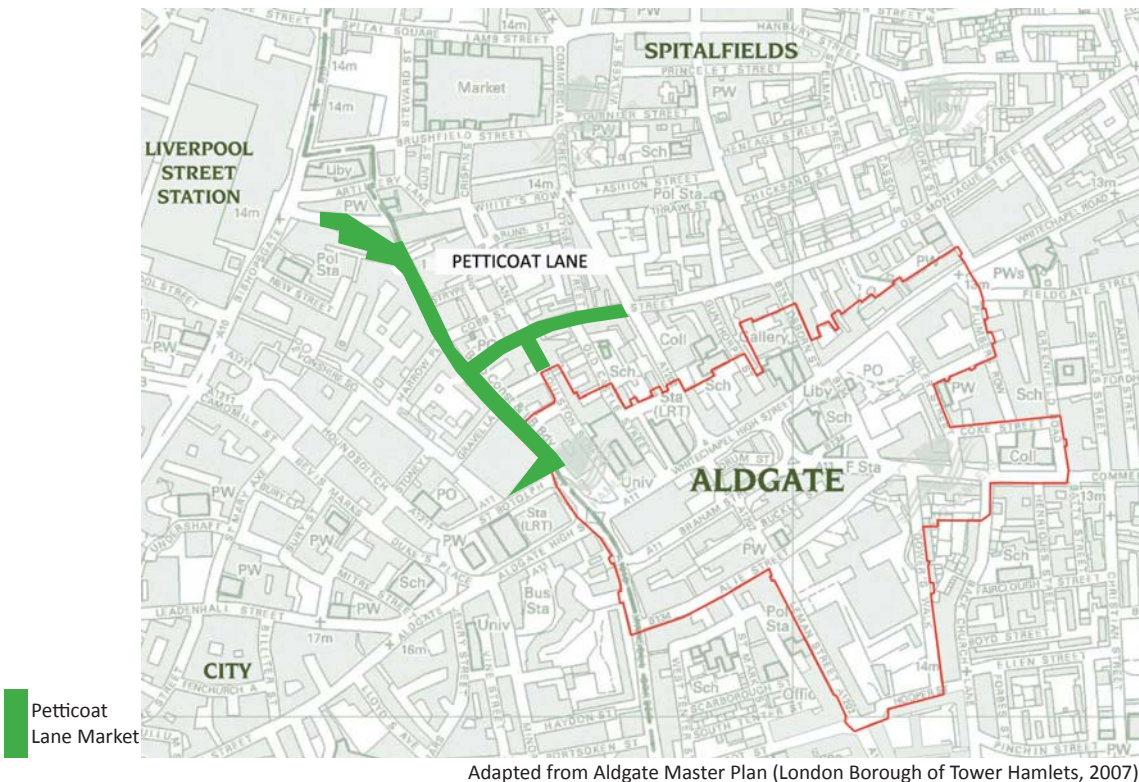


Figure 6-3. | Opportunity Areas in North East London sub-region



Source: London Plan (GLA, 2008)

Figure 6-4 . | Location of Petticoat Lane in Aldgate Master Plan



Jewish, Irish, Chinese, Bengali, Somali and Afro-Caribbean people. The conservation guideline pointed out that the street market is an important feature of this area, generating 'liveliness' and 'activity', while the market itself was recognized as equivalent to an open space in an area with none. Most of all, the 'permeable quality of movement and views' from the regular grid of structured streets, and low-rise and mixed use buildings of three or four storeys, were singled out to be conserved (Tower Hamlets, 2007b). In terms of public transport policy, Central London Congestion Charge Zone was introduced to reduce traffic levels and protect pedestrians, and includes Middlesex and Wentworth Streets, and ends at Commercial Street. Charges are imposed on motor vehicles entering the zone from 7am to 6pm on weekdays, with no charges on weekends and public holidays (<http://www.tfl.gov.uk/>, 2008).

Petticoat Lane market has focused on economic improvement since it was recognised as being in economic decline, because the market is regarded as an attraction for a 'number of people from outside the borough'. Petticoat Lane was envisioned as a tourist attraction, thus drawing further visitors to the area (GLA, 2008). In the borough's development plans, Petticoat Lane was seen as one of London's traditional street markets catering both to people from different ethnic backgrounds and different cultures, and to international tourism. Retail, tourism, and entertainment activities in Petticoat Lane were to be encouraged (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2008), while an art-culture trail linked Whitechapel Gallery, the old Truman's Brewery, and the Rich Mix Arts Centre, via Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane and Spitalfields Market (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2007b).

### **Legislations and regulations (bye-laws)**

A series of government acts defined the local authority responsibilities for control of trading, and the public's right of access, along with consumers' rights, especially since the market was enlarged in the 1960s and 1970s. The legislation also protected traders' working rights with security of tenure and low fees for public services such as policing to ensure safety and deter pickpockets, and street cleaning. The Act of Parliament 1936 and the Shops Act of 1950 protected Petticoat Lane as an official Sunday market, the only one allowed by Royal Charter. Since the London County Council Act 1947, tenure has been officially granted to traders by annual license, and temporary and permanent licenses have been granted since the 1970s. The Food and Hygiene Markets Act 1966 controls food hygiene, and the 1967 local by-laws regulate the width of stalls to a 3ft 6in limit.

Therefore, as a street market managed by a local authority, Petticoat Lane is protected by legislation and controlled by regulations for public use. To ensure the right of public access and

use of the pavement by vehicles, pedestrians and shop owners, the London Local Authorities Act 1990 also controls trading equipment such as awnings, sheets, screens, clips and refuse receptacles, vehicles, storage, electricity and water supply. According to the London Local Authorities Act 2007 (as amended), tenure protects traders' working rights while codes of conduct in the 'license conditions' control traders' behaviour in relation to public access and safety.

At present (2009-2010), in the case of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, two types of street market tenure are offered: a permanent license for three years and a temporary one issued on a daily basis. Registration for Weekday and Sunday markets are controlled separately. Traders must comply with the conditions for consumer safety and copyright legislation, and are requested to conduct honest and fair trading in goods, services and refunding.

Times of market operation and pitch-locations are also regulated (Figures 6-5 and 6-6). Access for traders' vehicles is controlled with 'set up times and vehicle clear times'. Traders' vehicles are not permitted to enter Petticoat Lane except in certain circumstances such as severe weather. Opening days and hours vary for weekdays and Sundays (Table 6C). Petticoat Lane had 309 pitches on weekdays, and a total of 711 pitches on Sundays in Wentworth and Middlesex Streets in 2008 (Tower Hamlets, 2008b).

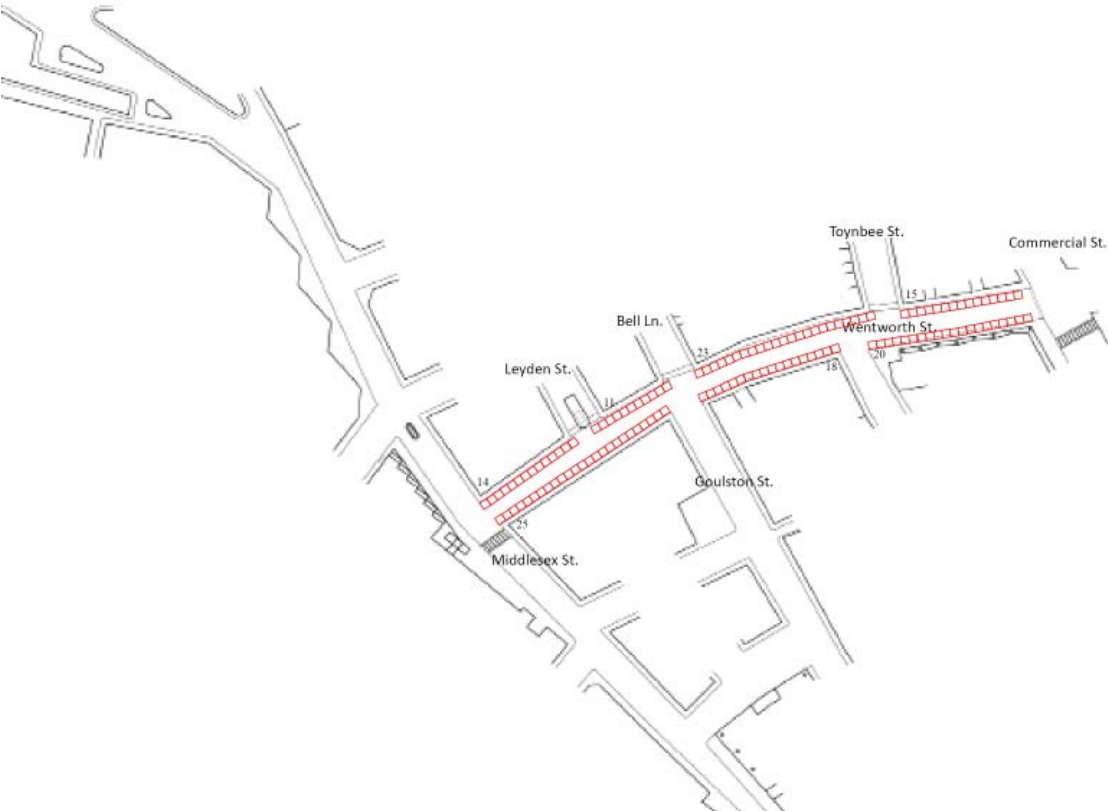
**Table 6C. Opening days and times of Petticoat Lane**

	Weekdays	Sunday
Set up	0600	0700
Market open	0800	0900
Loading Vehicles clear	1000	1000
Trading ends	1700	1400
Final clear	1730	1600

Source: London Borough of Tower Hamlets Market Services, 2008

The market is operated and managed by the local authority, the London Borough of Tower Hamlets at present. The local authority has controlled street trading using both national and local regulations and legislation. A series of government acts defined the local authority responsibilities for control of trading, and to ensure the public's right of access and customers' rights, especially since the market was enlarged in the 1960s and 1970s.

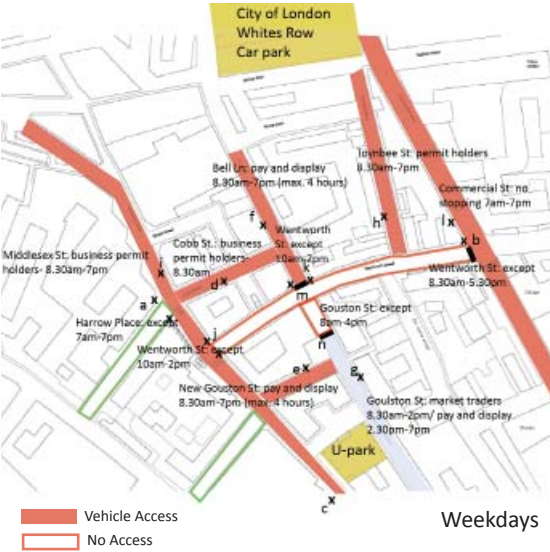
Figure 6-5. | Regulations controlling pitch-locations



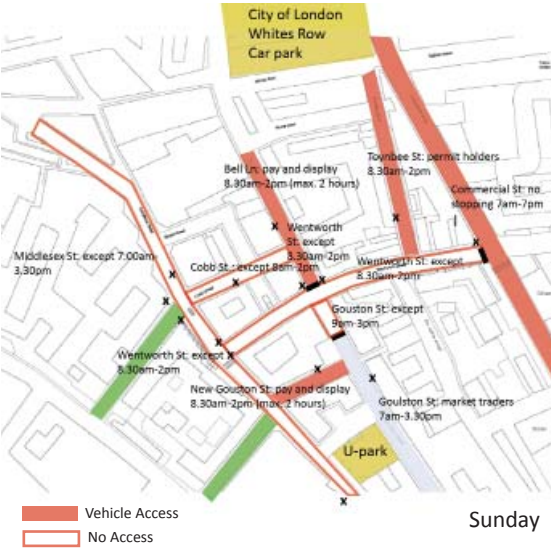
Source: market office in London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2008

Figure 6-6. | Regulation for times of operation

6-6a. Weekdays



6-6b. Sunday



Source: author's summary, from field work data (weekdays, Sunday), 2008



Departments across Tower Hamlets council link up to provide market management. Since the Sunday market on Middlesex Street is on the border between two boroughs, the market management has also involved the City of London. The main source of funding for market management is market traders' fees and charges for their licences. In Tower Hamlets council, Market Services in the Culture and Community Department is in charge of ensuring market compliance with legislation and regulations. Different departments are involved in the market management such as; Trading Standards and Consumer Services for control of street trading; Street Management for market cleaning and waste collection; Environmental Health Department for noise control; Food Safety for food hygiene and registration; Parking Controls for market traders' parking permits; Tower Hamlets Highways Management for maintenance of street furniture, signage and lighting; Parks for public toilets; and utility companies on a contract basis for gas, electricity and cables. The City of London Corporation is also engaged in market management, in areas such as cleaning, maintenance, lighting, and operation of public toilets, for the Sunday market. Transport for London (TfL) and the Metropolitan Police are also involved in the maintenance of roads, organising street works, and policing anti-social behaviour in the local area around Petticoat Lane.

Regarding management of Petticoat Lane, policies at the local level emphasised the value of Petticoat Lane and aimed to protect the market. The market contributes to the local economy especially in terms of job creation, retail variety, social vitality, public health with the offer of healthy food, and is important for the community by contributing to a positive sense of place. It is also considered a cultural asset and tourist attraction. However, development policies have changed the local context, and public transport policy, such as the Congestion Charge reduces the access for traders to Petticoat Lane. For Petticoat Lane, the legislation and regulations protect traders' working rights and public access. Nonetheless, the market management is fragmented across departments in the local council, while funding for the market relies solely on the income from fees paid by market traders.

### 6.2.5 Conclusions, Petticoat Lane street market

Petticoat Lane, an historic street market, dealing in clothes and general goods, has existed to serve people in the local area such as low-income people, diverse ethnic groups, office workers and tourists. Under the protection of a Royal Charter and legislation, the market has been managed by the local authority with support from the traders and their association along with local businesses.

However, Petticoat Lane is now in decline for a number of reasons, one of which is changing shopping habits favouring discount retailers on the high street and online shopping. Another problem is that Petticoat Lane has limited visual accessibility from main streets, being hidden amongst the historic streets in the area. In addition, the Congestion Charge as part of GLA transport policy has created a barrier to access to Petticoat Lane for traders who cannot afford another overhead cost. Furthermore, the majority of low-income people and the dominant ethnic group of Bangladeshis in the area are being challenged by an influx of affluent people. Development policies have changed the local context.

Petticoat Lane needs to adapt to survive. It has opportunities from the potential in its inner London location, such as links to social and religious facilities, offices, a university, school accommodation, other markets and tourist attractions, and amenity such as cafes and restaurants. The market use is protected by legislation and conservation policy. However, considering that the market management is fragmented across departments in the local council, the local authority responsible for market management needs to build partnerships, and expand sources of funding.

## 6.3 Borough Market

### 6.3.1 History and development (Table 6D)

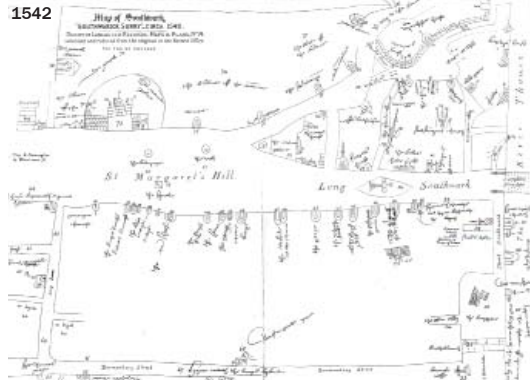
Borough Market began around London Bridge as a fish, grain, vegetable and cattle market as early as 1014. The market has been located on a permanent, covered site, off Borough High Street since 1756 when the market was in conflict with the government due to traffic congestion. This was already a serious problem by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the London authority that operated the market decided to close it in 1754. Significantly, users were involved in social action against the closure decision. Although the market was to be closed by the London Corporation, the local community bought a piece of land to locate, operate and manage the market. An Act of Parliament of 1756 granted the right to hold a market to the local community. Ever since this time, the market has been operated and managed by this community organisation, the Borough Market Trust, representing users who are also local residents.

In addition to the Royal Charter in the 16th century, another Royal Charter offered further protection by guaranteeing that no other market could be held within 1,000 yards in order to

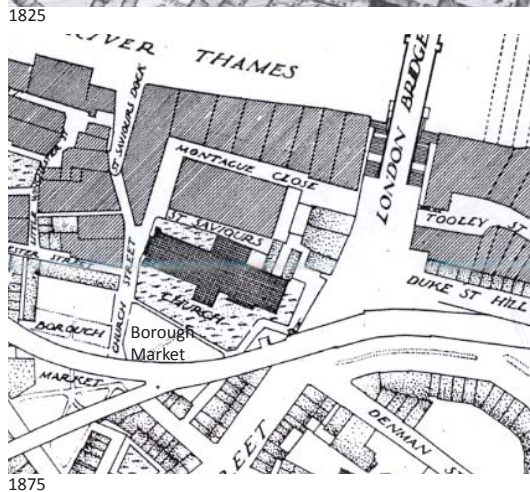
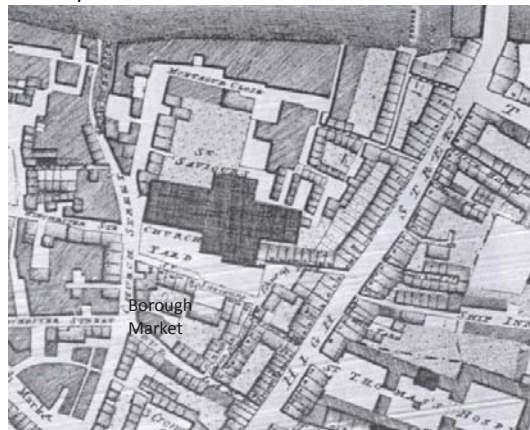
Table 6D | Borough Market - Time Line

Street patterns

1276 The market moved St. Margaret's hill onto Borough high street



1754 the present location



Change of the market Development

People in the local area

1014 Permission granted by a king, originally on London Bridge as a fish, grain and vegetable, and cattle market

1276 Change from being run by churchwardens of St. Saviors to Southwark cathedral/ Market house used to store grain and publicly weigh the goods on 'the Kings beam' before being sold on.

Traffic congestion on the south side of the river to the approach to the bridge.

1300s No Charter was granted for another market to be set up within seven miles of the Borough Market by Edward III.

1406 Royal Charter was granted.

1442 Royal Charter was granted.

1462 Previous Charters were confirmed by Edward IV, and Royal Charter to the City of London to hold the market. Wine, bread, beer, victuals and everything set for sale.

1580 The law that no other market or street trader could set up stall within a thousand yards of the market unless they paid a toll, has been complied.

Traffic jam on London Bridge

1754 Decision was made by the City of London to abolish Borough Market due to Traffic congestion, and petition to build and maintain the market was proposed.

1755 Act of Parliament regulated the right of holding the market and the tolls was rested in the church wardens, oversees and inhabitants of Southwark.

Southwark rate payer still benefited from Foresight of 1755.

1756 Parliament agreed that no market should be held in the high street  
Royal Charter Act of Parliament proclaimed that it (Borough Market) was necessary for the benefit and accommodation of the inhabitants of the borough of Southwark and the adjoining towns and villages that a market should be continued at a place as convenient as possible to the Borough High Street- the market shall be remain an estate for the use and benefit of the said parish for ever and the profits shall and may be applied in diminution of any of the parochial rates or assessment.

Warden, inhabitant, overseers collected money and bought the ground

1767 Borough Market became officially a charity, trust that donates any profits made at the close of day to the rates for people living in St. Savior's parish.

In order to present any encroachments, no person was allowed to hold a rival market within 1,000 yards. It reopened Borough Market on the present site known as the Triangle, land off from the high street.

1815 Various leases were applied.

1829 A number of the traders started selling to the public rather than only to the retailers, to make extra money.

Originally, the market sold meat, fish, all other kinds of provisions, but Act of 1829 confined the produce to the sale of fruit, flowers, vegetables, roots and herbs.

1839 St. Savior's grammar school, an Elizabethan structure, was demolished and site added to the market.

1851 Henry Rose, architect, designed the market

1860 Further enlargements and improvements proceeded.

1862 The market was affected by the extension of the South-Eastern railway. The covered roof and dome was erected across the triangle site, but stopped in 1862. Due to the railway, glass turned into black with soot blocking natural light, and the market was lit by gas lamp to check quality and to keep pickpockets.



1750



1853



Table 6D | Borough Market - Time Line (Continued)

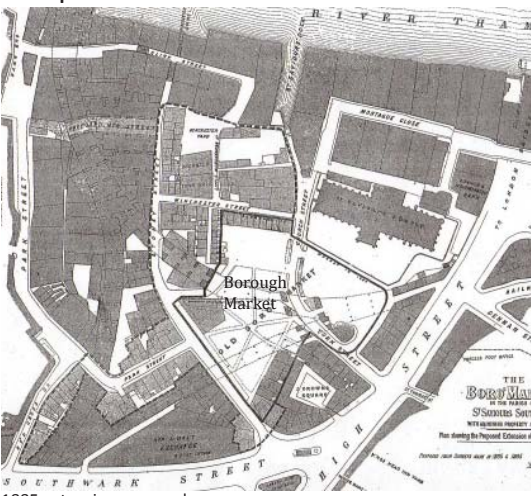

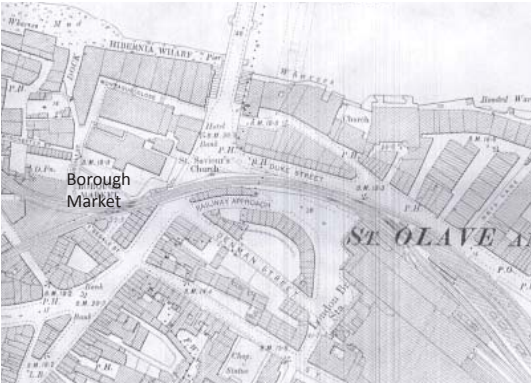





Street patterns	Change of the market	Development	People in the local area
 1885 extension proposal	<p><b>1892</b> Flower market was proposed.</p> <p><b>1907</b> The constitution of the governing body of the market was altered. 21 trustees were elected every four years by the councillors of the St. Savior's ward and Association of street traders.</p> <p><b>1930</b> Market gave the trustees further borrowing powers up to a total of 150,000 pounds for the purpose of extensions, and improvements of new road and entrance being opened is the first work undertaken under that authority. Act of 1930 was granted, enabling the trustees to extend and improve with architects (Messrs, A.W. Cooksey and partners) and consulting engineer (Arthur Harrison, M. Inst. C.E.).</p> <p><b>1932</b> Old three Crown Square was closed for the construction of a new road, entrance and office, and a new one-way street, giving direct access from Borough High Street.</p>	 1890s	
 1893	<p><b>1950s</b> Concrete building, which was demolished for the Floral Hall later.</p>	 1954	
 1952	<p><b>1980s</b> Explosion of supermarket chains across London devastated business beneath the borough with the departure of fruit and vegetable sellers from Covent Garden.</p> <p><b>1986</b> Much of its trade has been lost to the New Covent Garden at Nine Elms.</p> <p><b>1989</b> Opposition was raised against the viaduct proposal of Thames link.</p> <p><b>1991</b> Traders has dropped off over the years, especially since the opening of New Covent Garden at Vauxhall in 1974 .</p> <p><b>1994</b> Shopping facilities such as supermarkets have influenced the market in decline drastically in the Borough High Street area during the past 10 years.</p> <p><b>1995</b> Trustees organised RIBA competition, and GSA won 5 projected refurbishment phases.</p> <p><b>1996</b> Tames link 2000 proposal</p> <p><b>1998</b> Food festival, food lover's fair, was the beginning of the retail Borough Market, and it became a food market on Saturday once a month.</p> <p>Old Floral Hall, built in 1859 as part of the south of the Royal Opera House, used as a flower and exotic plant market and host balls and orchestral concerts in Covent Garden, came to Borough Market for the new entrance dome and the roof destroyed by fire in 1956.</p> <p>Wholesale traders were asked whether they would be prepared to sell their wares to regular shoppers rather than exclusively to hotels, restaurants and retail outlets. The Covent Grden cheese specialist, Neal's Yard, already had a wholesale unit under one of the railway arches: Brindisa, the Spanish food company, also expressed a willingness to compete.</p>		
 1954	<p><b>1999</b> Phase 1: a monthly specialist food market was introduced into a regular Saturday market and training for local people (food safety course, market traders' course, the business advice service), event for local community.</p> <p>Globe theatre, Oxo tower to new Tate gallery at Bankside near the market were developed. Jubilee line structure was accommodated in addition to warehouse conversions and brand new developments such as apartments at Horseshoe wharf, Bellway homes and Berkeley homes.</p>		



Table 6D | Borough Market - Time Line (Continued)

Street patterns	Change of the market	Development	People in the local area
 <p>1983</p>	<p><b>2000</b> Borough food market was extended to Friday at 12-6pm and Saturday at 9-4pm.</p> <p><b>2002</b> Food market was operated on Friday and Saturday with wholesale market up to 2 am, and Green market as permanent place with asphalt, street furniture and umbrellas. New temporary cages were prepared on Crown Square, and the concrete buildings at Stoney Street were demolished. Middle road was relocated, re-roofed and resurfaced with lighting.</p>	<p>Riverside warehouse conversion such as Disney Place, Victor Wharf, Tennis Court, Winchester Stables Wimpney, Square Foot, Bell Way, and London Bridge Toner</p>	
 <p>2004</p>	<p><b>2004</b> Phase 2: Floral Hall completion</p> <p><b>2005</b> Bar, restaurant and Brew Wharf opened along streets and the Floral Hall opened in the market. Disused basement was planned with new flooring, lighting, partitions and a lift. Rochester walk was prepared for new cage for traders moving from Crown Square.</p> <p><b>2007</b> Phase 3: planning the Borough Market food school and a food college</p> <p><b>2008</b> Pitches were relocated in a new covered market area, Jubilee market. After the Thames link project, Borough Market planned to enlarge.</p>		 <p>2008</p>

Source: South London Press, 2004; 2000; 1998; 1996; 1972; 1965; Southwark News, 2001; 2004; 2006; 2007; Daily Express, 1920; Southwark Local, 1972; SE1, 1989; Guardian, 1992; The illustrated London News, 1986; 1853; Daily Sketch, 1930; Evening Standard, 2003; Times, 1933; Sunday Times, 1933; Daily Telegraph, 1933). (South London Press, 2000; Architects Journal, 1993

‘benefit and accommodate local residents in the borough’. The market is also a charity registered with the Charity Commission, which means that it has the ability to receive financial support. Regulations were applied to the fruit and vegetable wholesale market by the Borough Market Trust. Various leases were registered, and types of products that could be sold were regulated and confined to fruit and vegetables by Acts of Parliament in 1829.

Although the physical form of the area such as the street pattern and buildings have not changed substantially (Table 6E), Borough Market has been altered as a result of its own actions. It extended its boundaries to adjacent sites in the 1800s. Most of all, in 1851, the new physical structural design of the market extension by Henry Rose incorporated new safety features. Additionally, the viaducts of the railway were built over the covered structure and affected market trading in 1862. Borough Market continued to be improved and enlarged, especially in the 1930s with government financial support again in an effort to relieve traffic congestion around the market.

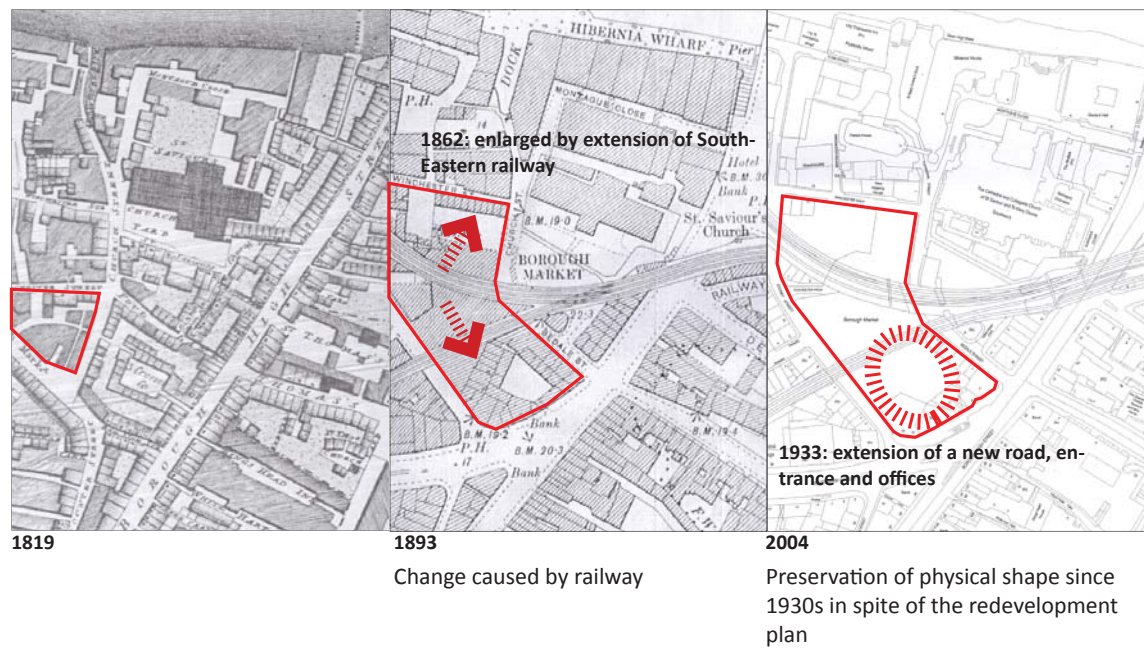
By the 1980s, nonetheless, Borough Market had been in economic decline as competition with formal shopping facilities such as nearby supermarkets threatened the fruit and vegetable wholesalers and other wholesale markets such as New Covent Garden. The number of traders dropped significantly in the early 1990s. Responding to the economic decline, in 1995 the Borough Market Trust decided on a change with the introduction of a new use as a food retail market to operate for three days a week from Thursday to Saturday, alongside the wholesale market that operated in the early morning from 2-6am (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006).

Market refurbishment, commencing in 1995, re-designated Borough Market as a local retail food market by adapting the units for retail use to sell food and ingredients to local people and tourists (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). In the 2000s, the market was mentioned as a cultural amenity for local residents (Evening Standard, 2003). Furthermore, it has been recognised as a tourist attraction since the development of cultural attractions along the South Bank of the River Thames (South London Press, 2004).

### 6.3.2 Local context and physical space of the market

Borough Market is located south of the River Thames, in the London Borough of Southwark, off Borough High Street, alongside Southwark Cathedral. It is well served by public transport with London Bridge rail and underground station and Borough underground station nearby, and bus stops in Borough High Street. Parking spaces are located along Borough High Street.

Table 6E | Borough Market - change of physical space and users

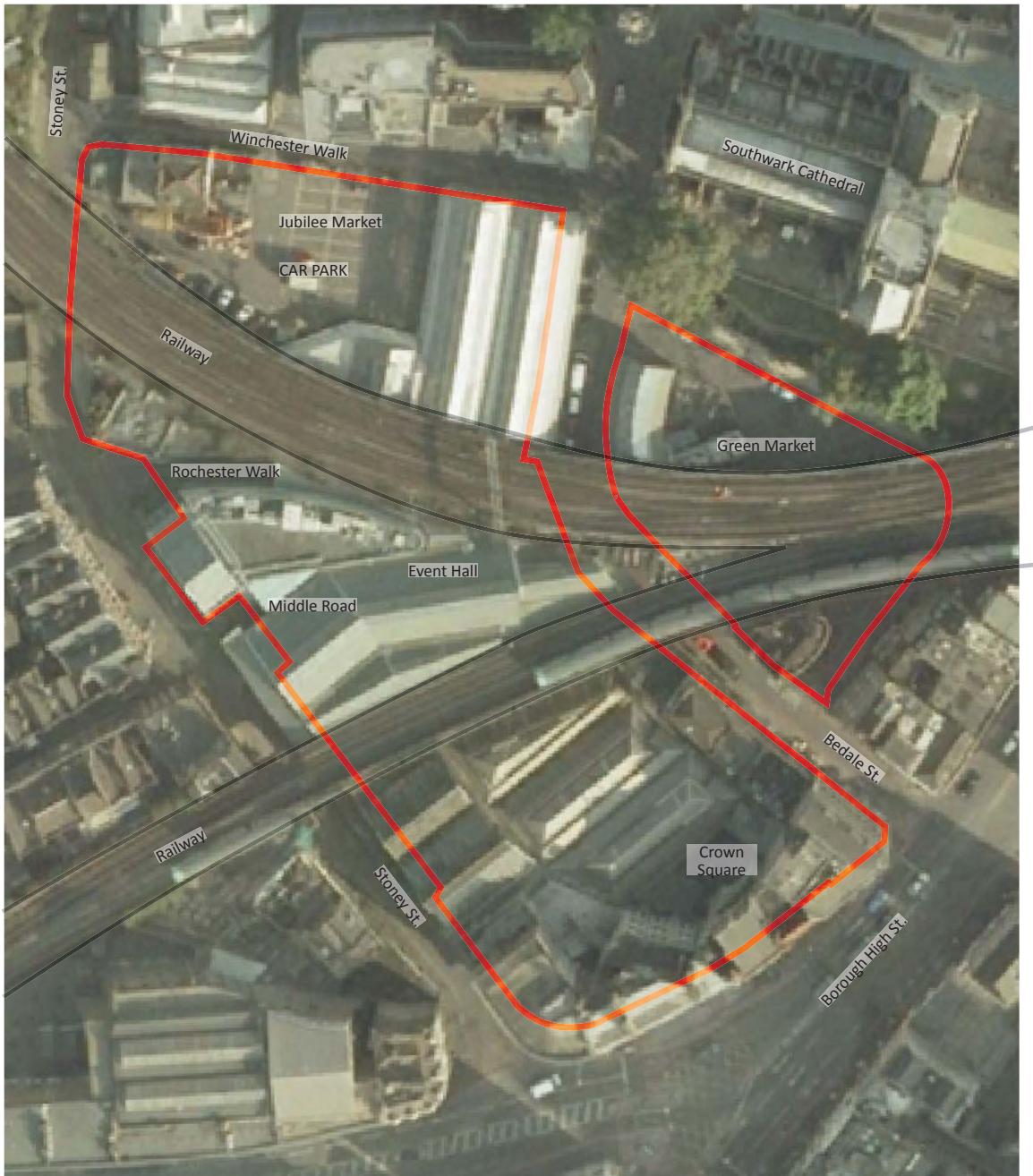


Source: South London Press, 2004; 2000; 1998; 1996; 1972; 1965; Southwark News, 2001; 2004; 2006; 2007; Daily Express, 1920; Southwark Local, 1972; SE1, 1989; Guardian, 1992; The illustrated London News, 1986; 1853; Daily Sketch, 1930; Evening Standard, 2003; Times, 1933; Sunday Times, 1933; Daily Telegraph, 1933). (South London Press, 2000; Architects Journal, 1993



Figure 6-7. | Borough Market, covered market by design

6-7a. Borough Market, Satellite photo



2008 Aerial photography shows covered market structures clearly

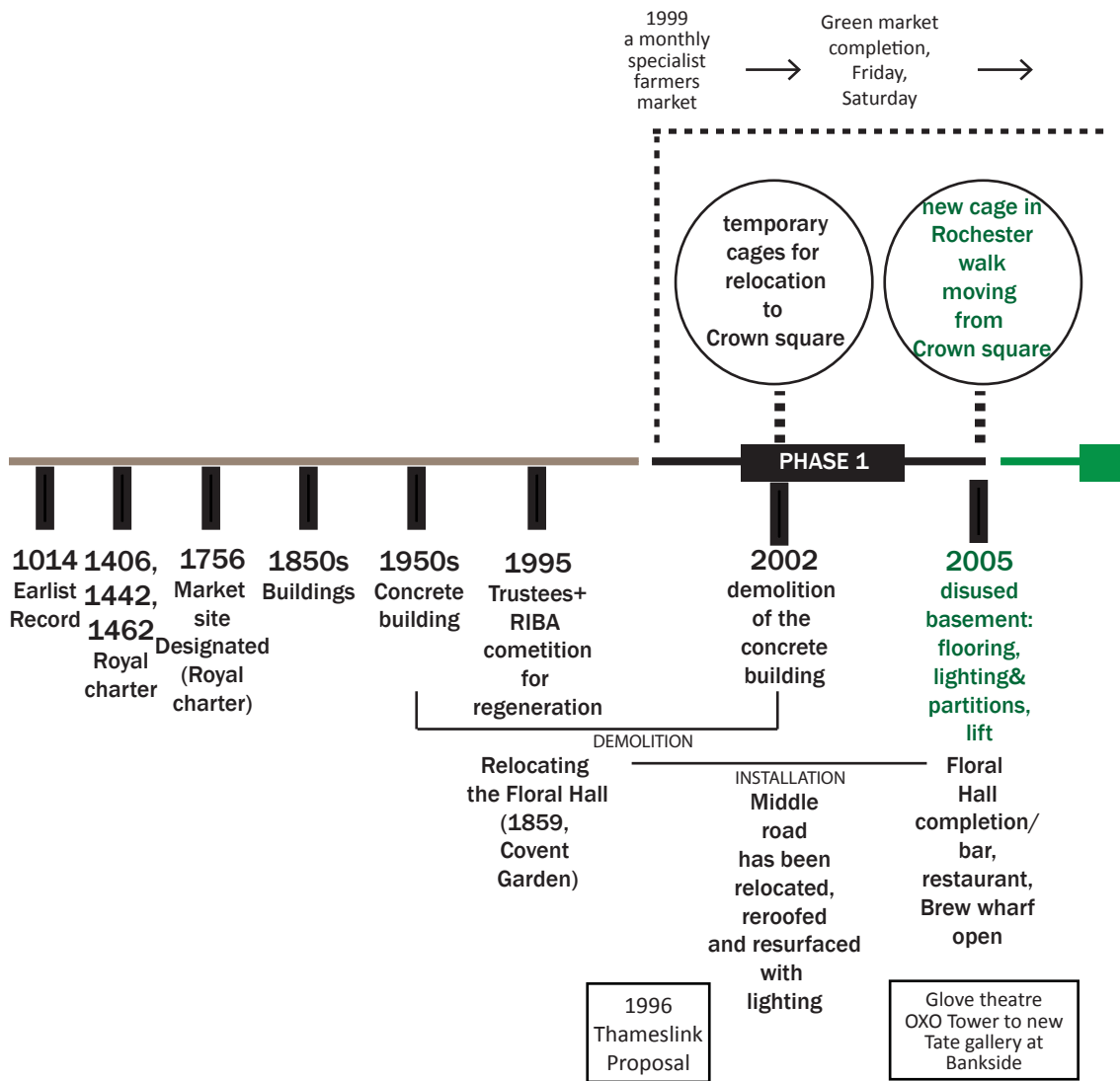
6-7b. Borough Market, plan



— covered market boundary  
(Jubilee market and Green market areas  
are partially covered)

---- Railway viaduct to/from London Bridge station  
Two storey above the covered market

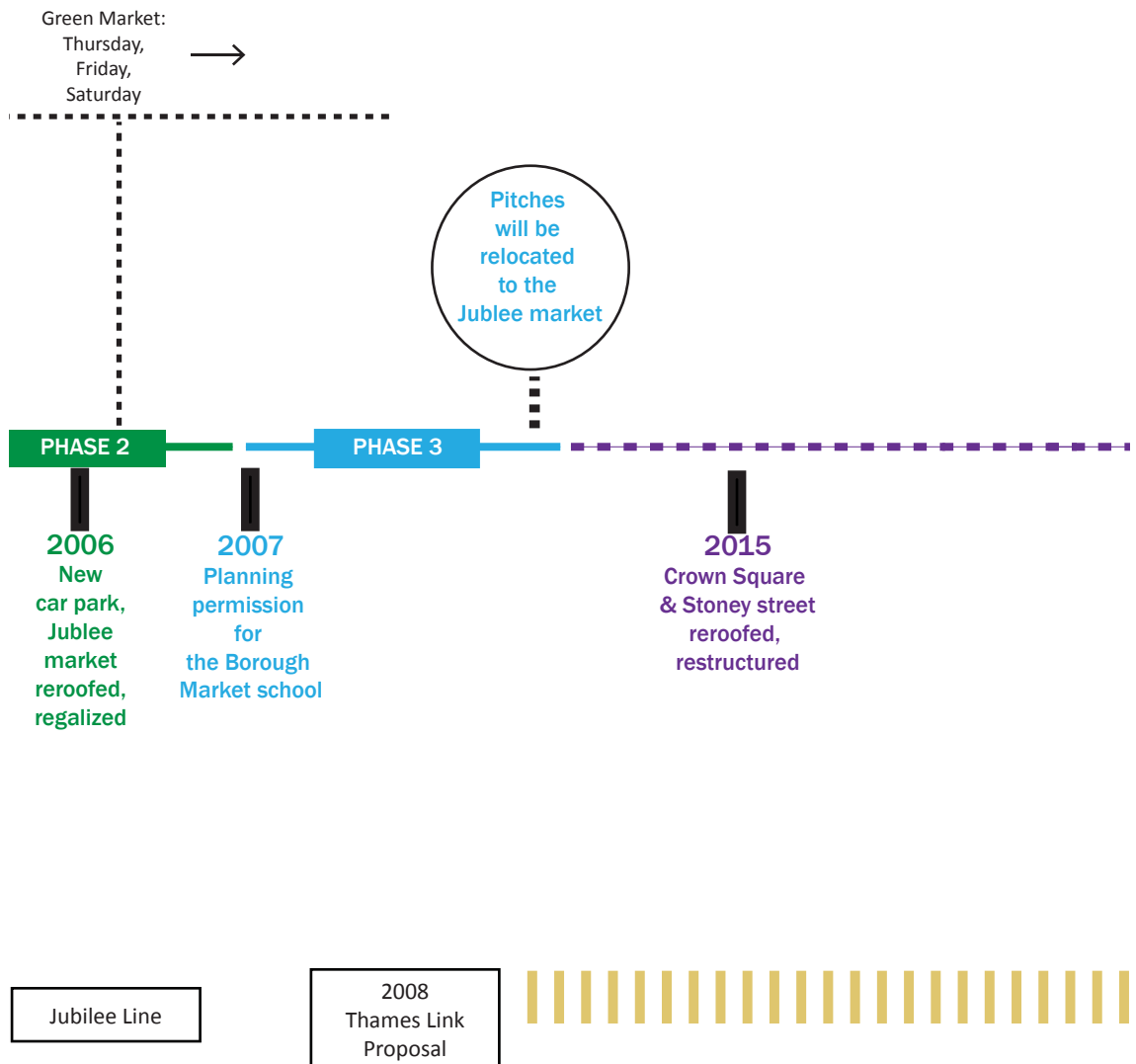
Figure 6-8. | Borough Market in re-development Phases



Current 2009

Enabling & Green Market Stage

Floral Hall Stage



Source: data obtained from Green, Dean and Dillon (2006)



Construction Stage1

Construction Stage2

Post Stage2 (2013 present)

Source: GSA Architect (2009)



Small retail units, cafes, flower shops and offices are located in the streets around the market, and council housing is also in the local area.

Furthermore, the market is located close to visitor and tourist attractions along the River Thames such as the historic Tower Bridge and Southwark Cathedral. In the late 1990s, cultural development along the River Thames such as Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, the Oxo tower, the Tate Modern art gallery, the Millennium Bridge, and new City Hall, along with both public transport improvements including the new Jubilee line, and new developments of housing and offices, especially with the conversion of old wharves and riverfront buildings, provided a positive change to the market's urban environment.

Borough Market was also affected by the railway viaduct extension which had been given priority as a public transport improvement. The Thameslink 2000 railway viaduct extension proposal had been in progress since the late 1990s (Table 6E). In terms of physical space, the market area integrates an historic character, and the covered market presents a new physical space as a result of its refurbishment and addition of a retail food market (Figure 6-7).

Borough Market is a covered structure with the historic features of a Victorian roof, especially under the railway viaduct. While maintaining the old wholesale market, new buildings and structures have been designed as part of the market's refurbishment starting in 1995. The Market Trust safeguards the historic and architectural character of the place by maintaining it as one of the oldest wholesale food markets in the UK. A building was moved from Covent Garden to the market area (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006).

According to the phases of the refurbishment, the covered market was provided with its own custom-designed infrastructure such as electricity, water, floor surfaces, shelter, parking lot, and storage (Figure 6-8). Storage facilities and bollards fitted with electricity and water supply outlets were designed for the parking lot. Public safety is monitored using a CCTV system. The refurbishment plan also had to adapt to the inevitable changes forced by the nearby extension of the railway viaduct that started in 2008.

### 6.3.3 Social demographics

The population of the London Borough of Southwark was 244,866 in 2001, and Cathedrals (also known as Borough and Bankside) ward where Borough Market is located, recorded a population of 13,115 in the 2001 Census. According to data on economic activity (Census, 2001), the proportion of people aged 16 to 64 years was 78.68% (Southwark: 74.93%). The



ward had the highest proportion of people aged 20 to 29 years in the London Borough of Southwark, and the highest proportion of working aged males aged 25 to 54 years (Southwark Analytic Hub, 2007).

The percentage of managers and senior officials was 16.6% (Southwark: 15.2%, London: 17.6%), and that of professionals was 15.9% (Southwark: 15.7%, London: 14.9%). It was 19.8% for associate professionals (Southwark: 19.0%, London: 17.9%). The unemployment rate was 5.4% which is slightly lower than Southwark (6.2%) but higher than the rate in London as a whole (4.4%). Housing rented from the council reached 35.4% (Southwark: 42.3%), which is much higher than 17.1% in London as a whole.

50.0% of the population was White British, which is as high as the overall population in Southwark (52.2%, 127,752). In the borough, the second majority ethnic group were Black African 12.41% (Southwark: 16.07%, London: 5.28%), and Black Caribbean at 4.10% (Southwark: 8.00%, London, 4.79%). The Cathedrals ward had the highest proportion of Asian or Asian British and Chinese residents compared to other areas in the London Borough of Southwark; the second highest proportion is Black or Black British at 16.51%. The borough also had the highest proportion of residents born in other EU countries.

The occupations of managers, senior officials and professionals in the ward increased from 32.47% to 39.2% according to the 2011 Census. It is higher than that in Southwark (37.6%) and London as a whole (36.3%). At the same time, tenure in rented housing from the council decreased to 23.40%. It is lower than Southwark (31.2%), but still much higher than London as a whole (13.5%).

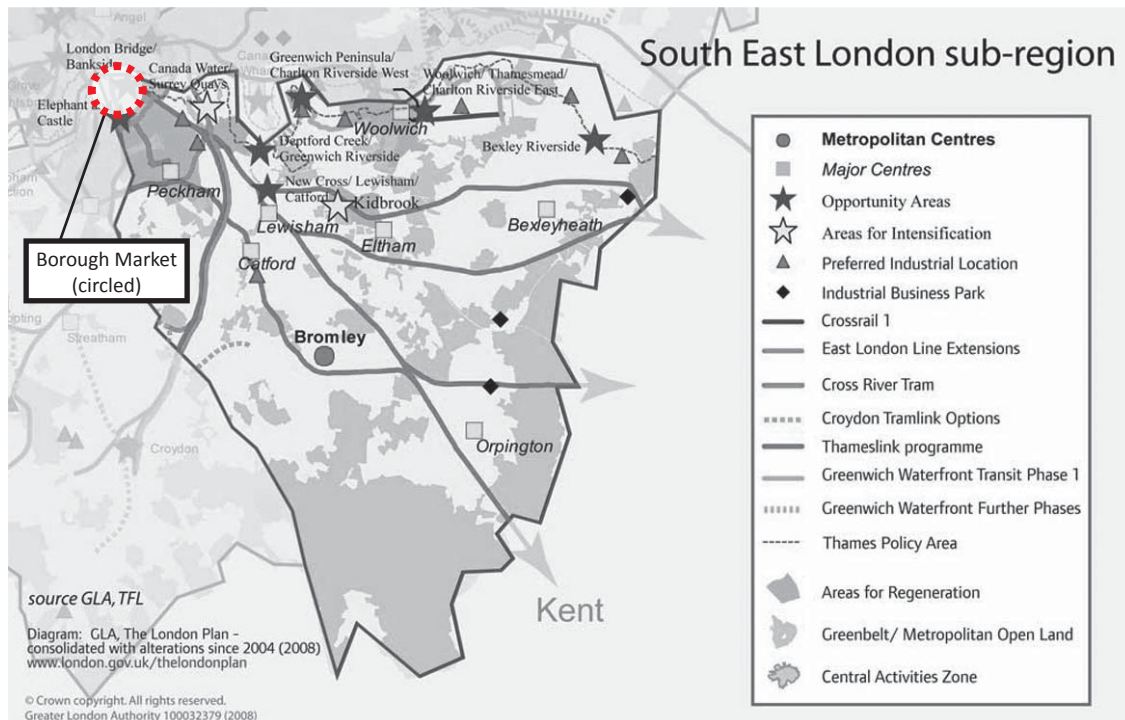
The demographics suggest that people in the local area where Borough Market is located are affluent people with high status occupations, ethnic groups of which the proportion is similar to the average in London, and low-income people living in council housing which is higher than the average for London. Although the number of affluent people increased in the 2011 Census, the area still accommodates a high proportion of low-income people.

### 6.3.4 Policy and Management of the market

Local authority development plans for the area around Borough Market focus on offices, especially a landmark mixed-use development, with high-value private flats and shops in the Opportunity Area between London Bridge station and Tower Bridge (Figure 6-9). These areas, identified in the London Plan, are expected to accommodate 14,000 new jobs and 500 new

homes by 2016 (GLA, 2008). According to all the office-led economic developments (Figure 6-10 and 6-11), office workers were to increase by 37,000 (Southwark, 2004).

Figure 6-9 | Opportunity Areas in South East London sub-region



Source: London Plan (GLA, 2008)

While there are development policies and plans for the area and strategies to support and enhance the economic viability of Borough Market, these policies are constrained because the market is located in the Borough High Street Conservation area. The conservation policy mentions Borough Market as having a unique character with special qualities that enhance the area even though it is an unlisted building<sup>2</sup>. The atmosphere of market activity contributes to the 'liveliness' of the area. The conservation guidelines focus on the historic and archaeological aspects of the urban environment such as the medieval street pattern which has a 'unique character' in the physical structure and 'randomness of its layout'. With plot sizes, building frontages and the appearance of the Borough Market canopy with light steel trusses and a Victorian glazed roof on cast iron columns, the aesthetic quality of the local area was considered as contributing to the character of Borough Market (Southwark, 2006).

<sup>2</sup>Unlisted buildings can be replaced only 'where existing buildings do not make a positive contribution to the character and appearance of the Conservation Area and the proposal can be shown to positively preserve or enhance that character and appearance' (Southwark, 2006). The refurbishment of Borough Market was based on this condition.

Figure 6-10. | London Bridge Planning Framework

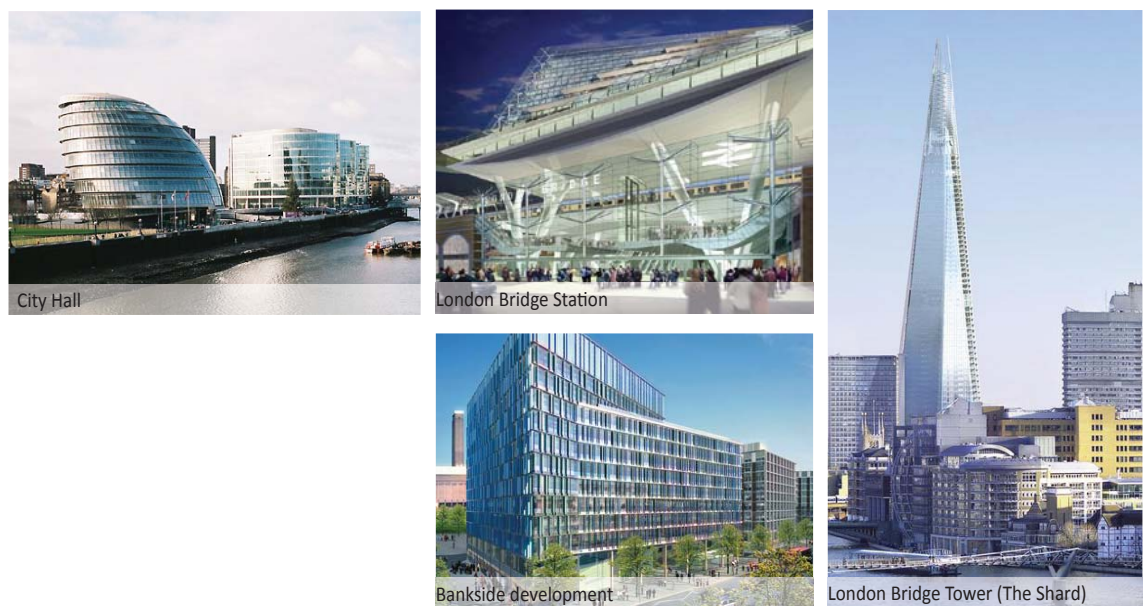


Source: London Borough of Southwark (2004)

Borough Market

Main development projects

Figure 6-11 | New developments around London Bridge



Source: London Borough of Southwark (2007)

Policies related to community engagement and involvement were also an issue because of the multi-ethnicity of new local residents from developments in the area. Cleanliness, safety and attractiveness were stressed as making the public realm accessible to all people (Southwark, 2007a). Markets were also presented as shopping facilities that supported tourism and the leisure network (Southwark, 2007b). Borough Market was selected as a strategic market in 2008 as it was an attraction for tourists (GLA, 2008).

Public transport policy included a plan for a new viaduct and railway track extension at high level above Borough Market in order to facilitate the running of additional trains into London Bridge by British Rail. In particular, the railway extension project, called Thameslink 2000, had been planned since the late 1990s. The Department for Transport (DfT) instigated this project as part of their larger sustainable development transport plans to benefit both the travelling public and the regeneration of London. According to the government's White Paper (Department for Transport, 2004), the viaduct above Borough Market needed to be widened and another viaduct constructed from 2013 to 2015, in the second phase of the project, in order to remove a major bottleneck around London Bridge station<sup>3</sup> and accommodate an anticipated 20% increase in commuters between central London and the Southeast.

### **Legislation and regulations**

Borough Market has been protected by Royal Charter since the 15th century, and it is guaranteed that no other market could be held within 1,000 yards in order to 'benefit and accommodate local residents in the borough'. The Charter applied to the fruit and vegetable wholesale market. Various leases were also registered, and the types of products that could be sold were regulated and confined to fruit and vegetables by an Act of Parliament of 1829. In addition to the legislation, the Borough Market Trust regulates times of operation, stall tenure, and types of products for the food retail market.

At present (2009-2010), the covered market site and some retail units around the market are owned by the Borough Market Trust. Borough Market deals with two types of trading, wholesale fruit and vegetables, and retail food. Under the regulations controlling wholesale

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<sup>3</sup> In the White Paper, the Transport Secretary said that this project was necessary to deliver a sustainable railway. This assessment was based on data that even though 12 carriage trains ran every few minutes through central London, passengers would increase by 20% over the next seven years. Therefore, railways were constructed or extended during the first phase by 2011 in preparation for the Olympic Games, while in the second phase, the bottleneck above Borough Market would be removed. The construction would benefit Thameslink and Charing Cross trains, which share the line, so that the volume of traffic would not cause delays (London SE1 news, 2007).



trading, the wholesale market opens early in the morning every day except Sunday. In addition, the Borough Market Trust has run a second market, the Green Market in a parking lot on Fridays and Saturdays from 2008 to the present (Table 6F). Times of operation are individually set for the food retail market, and the opening days have been extended since the refurbishment in 1995.

**Table 6F. Opening days and times in Borough Market**

	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Opening	1100	1200	0900
Closing	1700	1800	1600

source: [www.boroughmarket.org.uk](http://www.boroughmarket.org.uk), 2008

Borough Market Trust operates a diverse tenure system for these multiple types of trading. The Market Trust issues leases to retailers for permanent stands in the covered market, and for the food shops in the premises around the market which are owned by the Market Trust. For the casual trading on Friday and Saturday, a different tenure is applied to contracts with a casual license. Legislation was applied to casual stallholders in order to control trading, requiring them to provide their details, proof of insurance, certificate of food hygiene, and proof of company registration with Southwark Council (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). Other regulations controlling traffic and noise also are applied to the streets around the market.

### **Management system**

Borough Market has been operated and managed by a community organisation, the Borough Market Trust, since 1756. The community organization consists of a board of Borough Market Trustees who are elected in the parish of Southwark Cathedral. As well as the board, the market has its own manager and an operations team on a contract basis with utility companies for safety, hygiene and cleaning since the refurbishment. Its own security guards are traditionally known as beadies. The market is also a charity registered with the Charity Commission, which means that it has the ability to receive financial support. The refurbishment was supported by the London Development Agency (LDA) (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006).

Regarding the local area, development policies have changed the local context of Borough Market by promoting new offices and residential developments. For Borough Market which is

owned and managed by the community, policies at the London and local levels recognise the market as a lively open space with historic features that are attractive to both the community and tourists. Legislation controls the types of products sold in the wholesale market, but the Trust decides on the products allowed in the food retail market, and tests and controls their quality. Therefore, the retail food market has targeted customers who can afford the high prices for quality produce. As a body responsible for management and representing the local community, the Borough Market Trust organises the board of trustees consisting of community members for decision-making, and its own team under contract with private companies to operate the market on a daily basis. It also has diverse funding sources such as public funding as a charity, government support as well as stall fees from market traders.

### 6.3.5 Conclusions, Borough Market

Borough Market has become a thriving retail food market since the decision by its management, the Borough Market Trust, to turn it into a dual market with a wholesale market in the early mornings and a retail market later in the day for three days from Thursdays to Saturdays. This arrangement appears to have worked well, and illustrated a successful adaptation of the market to serve new users who are affluent people in the local area. Borough Market also has advantages related to its location and physical form. It is well located alongside a high street, and within close walking distance of major rail and underground stations. It is located beside an historic cathedral, and is able to use the cathedral's courtyard for its market customers. The market is also located near to the River Thames, and the South Bank river walk, which brings tourists to the market. With regard to its physical form, being a covered market provides advantages in poor weather. This has helped draw people to the market. As a result of its long history on the south bank of the River Thames, Borough Market is promoted as one of the most historic public markets in London.

## 6.4 Conclusions

The review of the historical development and current context for Petticoat Lane and Borough Market has revealed both similarities and differences in the markets. Markets around the City of London are affected by economic development initiatives in their local areas, having Opportunity Area status that encourages the provision of more offices and housing. These developments have impacted the market by introducing new user groups with preferences for high quality products. This is especially dramatic in the area around Petticoat Lane.

Both markets have good locations relative to public transport, other shopping facilities and tourist attractions, but Petticoat Lane is hidden from the High Street. Additionally, both markets are affected by the same threats to the retail sector from online shopping. However, Borough Market seems to have addressed the challenges by focusing on a niche specialist area of local, high quality food. Petticoat Lane, on the other hand, is more directly impacted as it is challenged by the spread of discount clothing stores as well as online shopping. The task to revive the market is made more difficult as a result.

Both the markets have a long history in inner London, and are therefore considered important markets to retain. Legislation and conservation policy protect the markets, and policies valuing markets as shopping alternatives, job creation and tourist attractions support the markets. However, the different management systems seem critical for markets in managing the challenges. Petticoat Lane is an example of a state-centred market management model that has demonstrated a fragmented approach, and a lack of vision for the market. Borough Market is an example of a community centred market management model, based on the partnership approach that has proved to be more successful. This research will investigate in greater detail the daily operations, activities and management of these two markets in an effort to establish the challenges, tensions and opportunities that these markets now face.





chapter

# 7

## CASE STUDY- Petticoat Lane

## 7 Case study of Petticoat Lane traditional street market

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### 7.1 Introduction

Reflecting on the dynamic relationship between use, management and physicality at Petticoat Lane, this chapter consists of four sections to present the findings of the fieldwork research. The first section examines patterns of activities in the marketplace which are related to social encounters and social experiences of the users of the street market. The second section analyses the physicality such as the land use surrounding the market, layout of market stalls and the food vans with a focus on accessibility, provision of seats and gathering areas, covered areas for weather protection, and activities demonstrating both informal and formal use. The number of people who come to Petticoat Lane or sit in the market suggest encounter rates between people. The third section looks into official and unofficial management of the street market in terms of application of regulations, strategies to improve legibility, and the maintenance regime. The final section discusses pressures from use, management and physicality perceived by users and the manager of Petticoat Lane.

### 7.2 Use of the street market

This section analyses the activities of the street market and examines who the users are. Rapidity of walking, duration of time spent in the market at specific locations, and the frequency of visits to the market, represent patterns of activity. Activities consist of walking, shopping, and sightseeing which take place all the time, but are more frequently observed on the days when the market is open. Standing and sitting in the market are discussed along with other social activities, which occur especially at weekday lunchtimes and Sundays.

#### **Walking, shopping and sightseeing through in the market**

Walking in Petticoat Lane takes place along the back of stalls on the sides or in the passageways between stalls of the streets. Walking is closely related to shopping or sightseeing along the street. They sit or stand at the corners around the food vans and eat, but do not visit other retail units, and walk back along the pavements.

Shopping in Petticoat Lane happens with a very slow movement compared with normal, purposeful walking (Figure 7-1). The speed of walking when shopping slows down slightly around 12pm on Sundays in Middlesex Street because the queues around stalls and food vans, and especially due to congestion caused by people with buggies. The patterns of shopping activities shown in Figures 7-2, 7-3 and 7-4 reveal that customers take part in purchasing, browsing and queuing. These activities are easily extended to standing or sitting for resting, eating or waiting for friends and families.

### **Products such as clothes, shoes, bags and food**

The individual movement patterns reveal that people visit retail units selling clothes, shoes, bags or African textiles, or cafés along the streets as well as the market stalls. Some users buy products and some do not. Whereas African women, tourists and families tend to visit the retail units along the street, office workers especially at weekday lunchtimes buy food at the food vans in Goulston Street (Figures 7-2 and 7-3). The duration for shopping activities becomes longer on Sundays when the market accommodates more trading stalls, three times more than that on weekdays (Figure 7-3). Customers on Sundays generally visit all the retail units, market stalls and cafés. Furthermore, the experience of the market includes sightseeing. People are engaged in taking photos of stalls, the historic buildings, signs, and the market traders, or they are looking at maps (Figure 7-4).

The market attracts people to the streets. Figures 7-5, 7-6 and 7-7 reveal walking taking place on the road and in the passageways between stalls. Wentworth and Goulston Streets accommodate more people walking during the time when the market is officially open, with more people in summer. But more people use the market around weekday lunchtimes (Spaces A, B, C and D). In Middlesex Street, the stalls occupy the road during the official opening times on Sundays (Spaces E, F and H).

### **Standing and sitting in the market spaces**

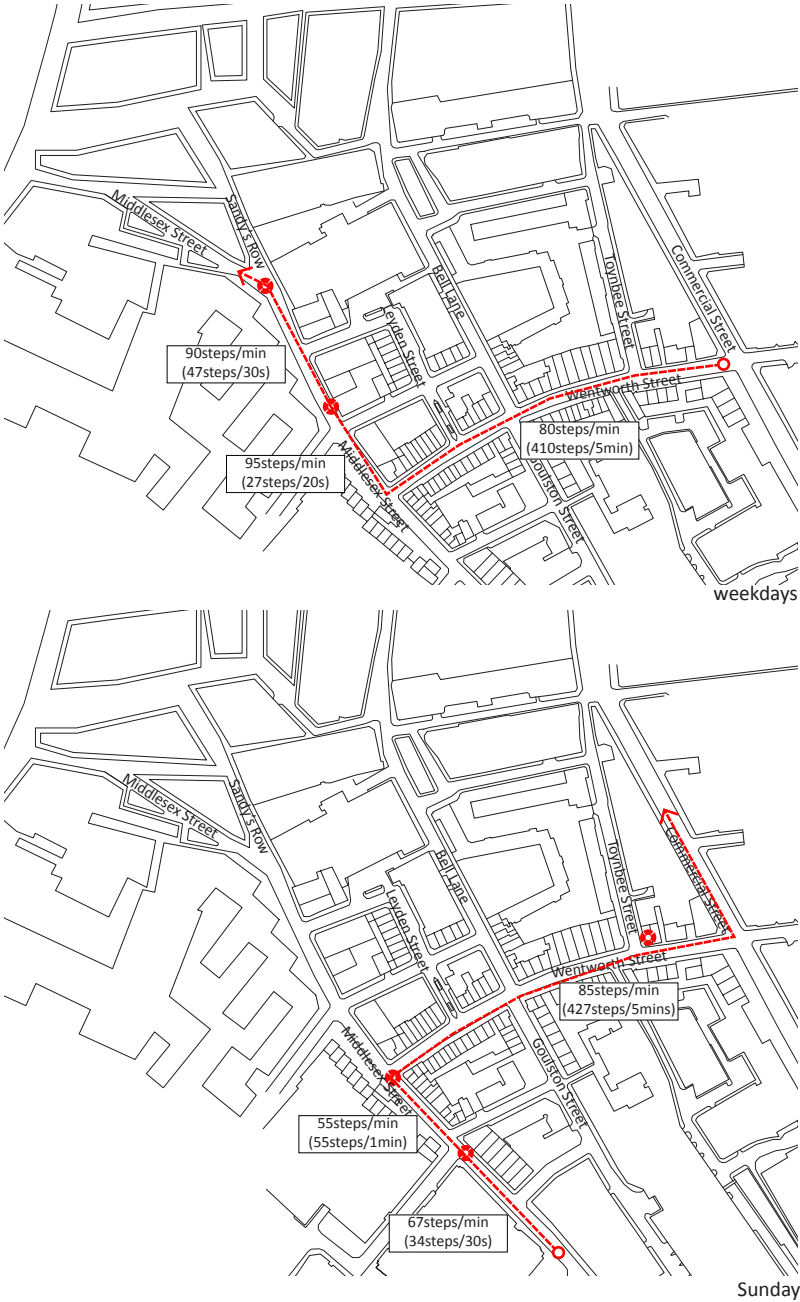
Standing is a frequent activity as is queuing, resting, eating, waiting for friends or family, and taking photos at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays, regardless of the season, and occasionally on the day when the market is officially closed which is Saturday. While standing or sitting, people engage in social activities such as talking, observing, listening and gathering, along with children playing.

Figure 7-1. | Rapidity of walking in Petticoat Lane

Rapidity of how fast people are walking: superimposed images to illustrate the speed of movement and speed (1.5 sec frames): people at the stalls (in the right image) moves slower than walking in the street (in the far right image).



Rapidity of a movement on Sunday (in the right below image) is slower than weekdays (in the right image) due partly to the congestion in the area.



Source: author's own data collected from observation

Figure 7-2. | Who is walking and where they stop in Wentworth Street on weekdays  
(Thursday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)



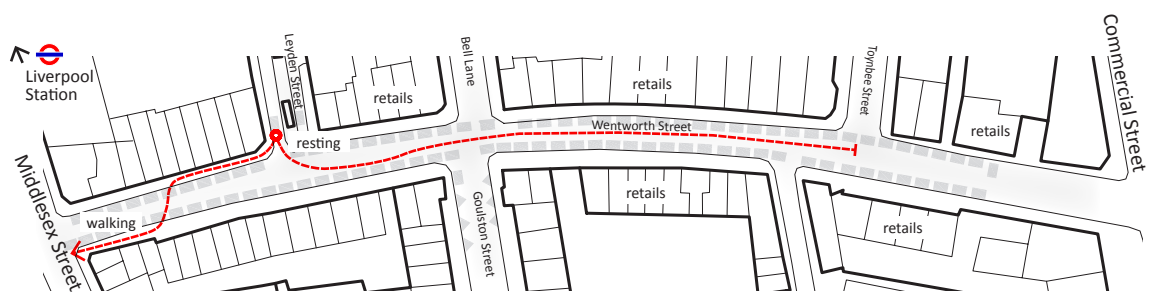
case 1 two men and one woman, 30 minutes



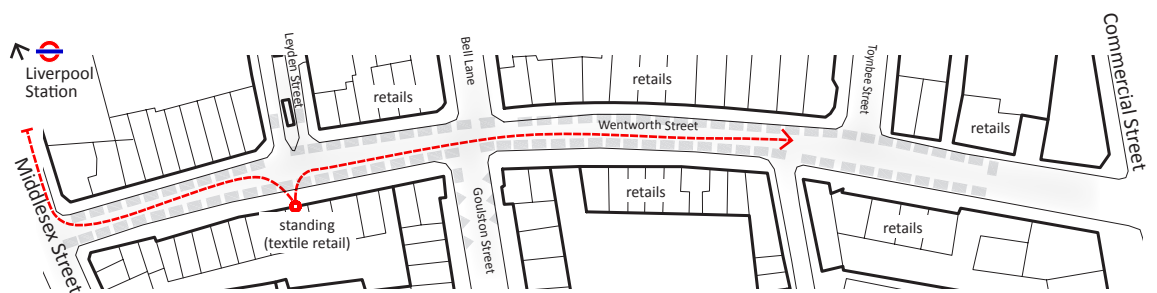
case 2 four male university students, three minutes



case 3 four male office workers, three minutes



case 4 two women (Africans), seven minutes

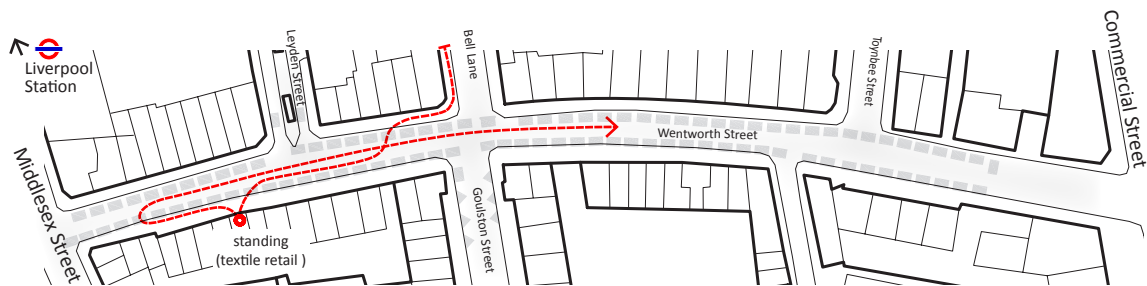


case 5 one woman (African), 20 minutes

Figure 7-2. | Who is walking and where they stop in Wentworth Street on weekdays (continued)  
(Thursday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)



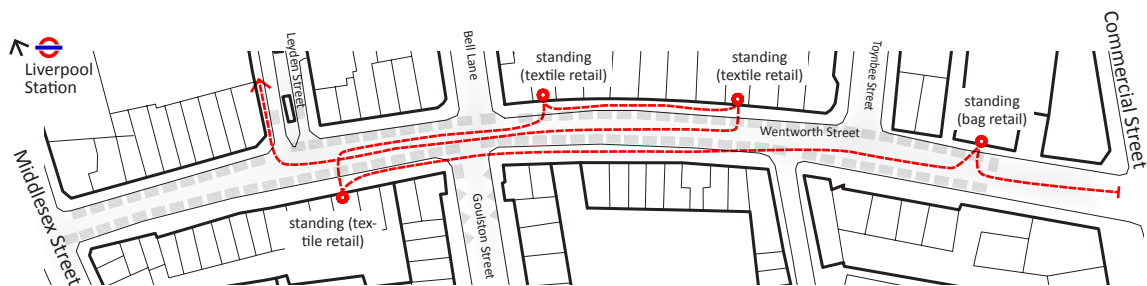
case 6 family (parents and one child), 50 minutes



case 7 family (mother and two children), 10 minutes



case 8 two men, 10 minutes



case 9 one man+one woman (Africans), 40 minutes



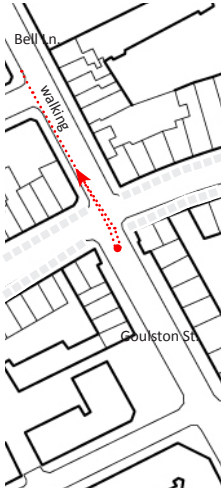
case 10 three female office workers, 10 minutes



Figure 7-3. | Who is walking and where they stop in Goulston Street on weekdays

(Thursday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

two male office workers,  
four minutes



one male office worker,  
14 minutes



two male office workers,  
four minutes



three male office workers,  
8 minutes



one male office worker,  
10 minutes



two male office workers,  
7 minutes



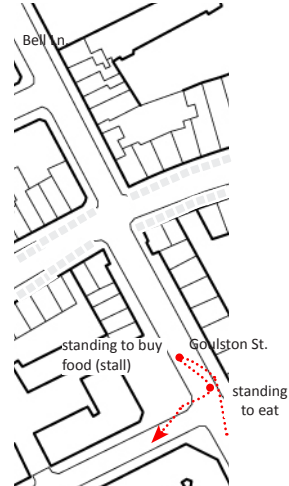
two male university  
students,  
five minutes



two male and two female  
office workers,  
10 minutes



one female office worker,  
10 minutes



five male and three  
female office workers,  
15 minutes

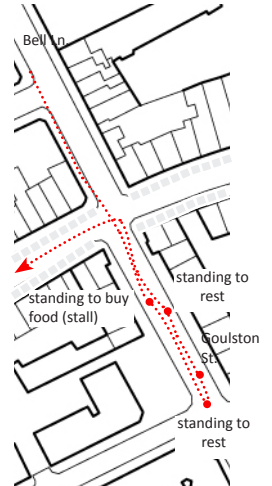


Figure 7-4. | Who is walking and where they stop in Petticoat Lane on Sundays

(Sunday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)





Figure 7-4. | Who is walking and where they stop in Petticoat Lane on Sundays (continued)  
(Sunday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

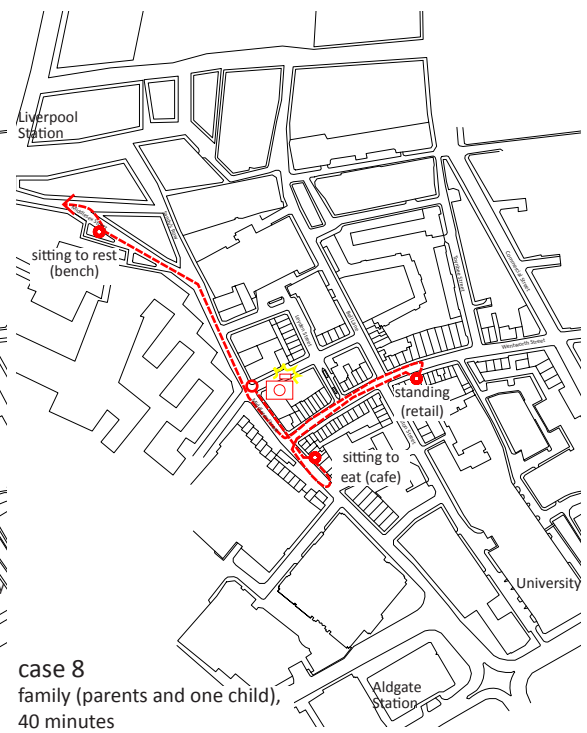
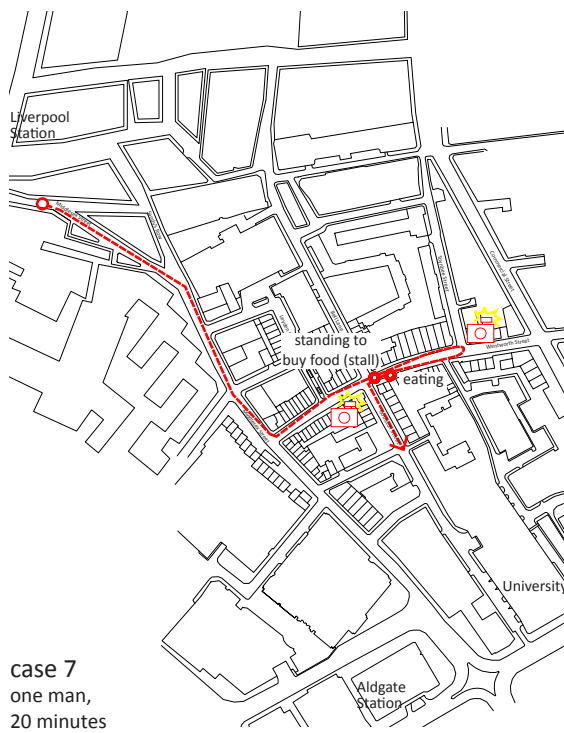
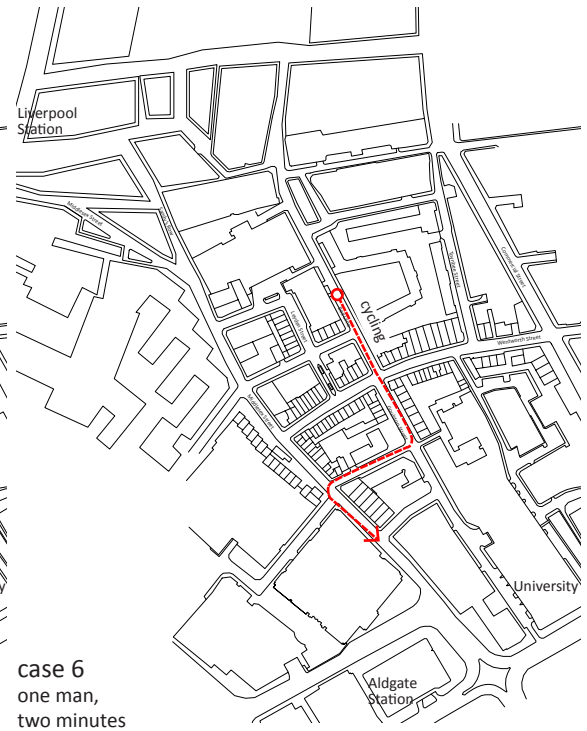
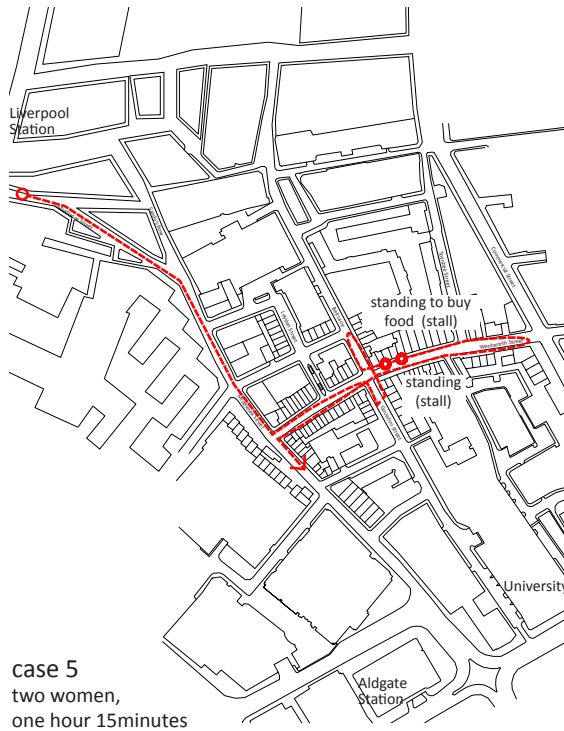
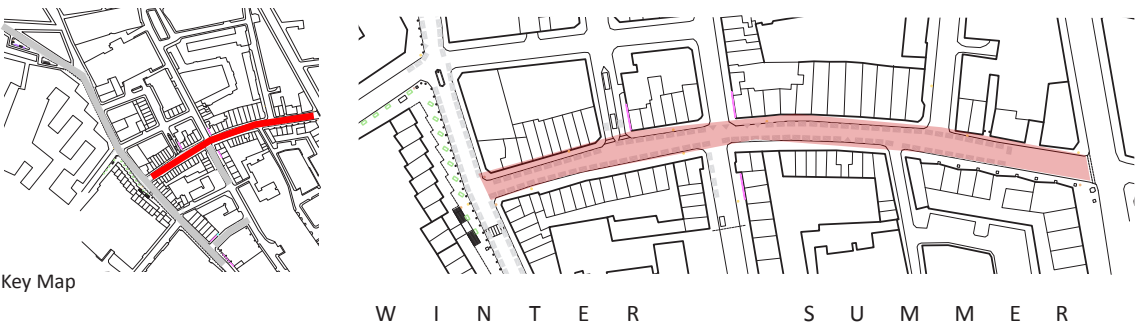


Figure 7-4. | Who is walking and where they stop in Petticoat Lane on Sundays (continued)  
(Sunday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)



Figure 7-5. | How vital Petticoat Lane is in winter and summer (Wentworth Street)















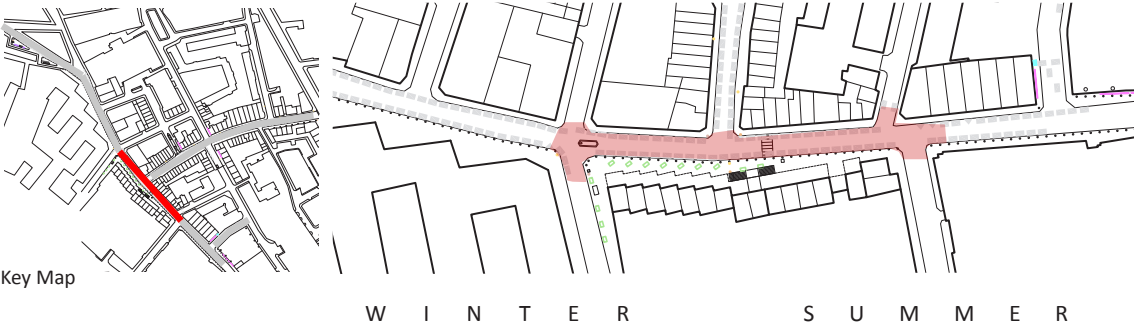














Weekdays	11:00		
			
	13:00		
			
	14:00		
			
	Sunday		
		Saturday when the market is closed	



Figure 7-6. | How vital Petticoat Lane is in winter and summer (Middlesex Street)



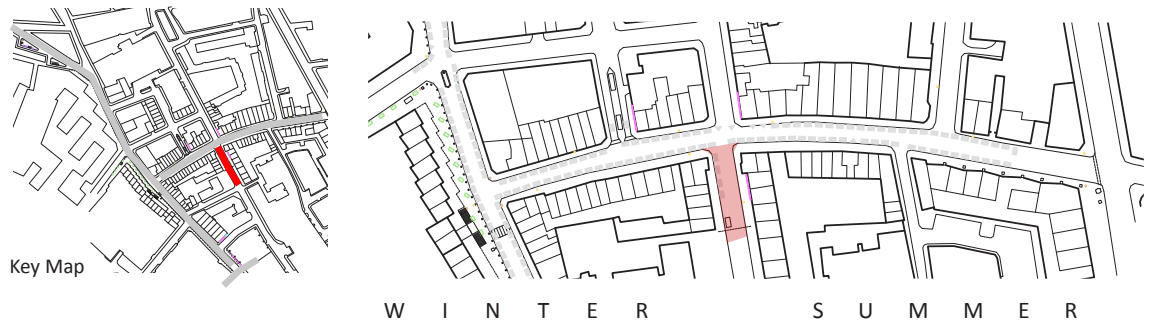
Sunday	11:00		
			
	12:00		
			
	13:00		
			
	14:00		
	15:00		

Weekdays and Saturday when the market is closed





Figure 7-7. | How vital Petticoat Lane is in winter and summer (Goulston Street)



Weekdays	11:00		
	12:00		
	13:00		
	14:00		
Sunday			
Saturday when the market is closed			

### **Products, Informal or formal outdoor seats, guided walking tours, community events and traders' advertising**

Aspects of market use were identified from observations: people/ customers standing and sitting, products available from retails and stalls, availability of informal or formal outdoor seats, guided walking tours, community events and traders' advertising. Weather is a factor that affects activities in the marketplace. In the case of rain or sunshine, users stand under the coverings of stalls and awnings of the retail units along the street.

#### **Space A (Wentworth Street-1, Figure 7-8)**

Standing frequently takes place in front of retail shops (A-a), and around stalls (A-b), building frontages or street corners (A-c), and on the road during weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays. Filming people, products and historic features along the street takes place from time to time. Sitting takes place occasionally around lunchtimes in outdoor café seats (A-d) or on trading equipment such as empty stalls, traders' chairs and ladders, by traders during slow periods on weekdays, and by customers on Sundays. On Sundays, standing and sitting are more frequent.

#### **Space B (Wentworth Street -2, Figure 7-9)**

Standing around building frontages or street corners (B-a), stalls and on the road at weekday lunchtimes and Sundays (B-b); sitting in outdoor café seats (B-e) or on trading equipment at weekday lunchtimes (B-c). At weekday lunchtimes, people stand to eat or rest at the corners of Bell Lane in sunny weather (B-d).

#### **Space C (Wentworth Street -3, Figure 7-10)**

On Sundays, standing frequently takes place around building frontages or street corners (C-a), market stalls (C-b), and the market gateway at the end of the street (C-c), and mostly consists of tourists or visitors consulting maps. Sitting takes place in outdoor café seats on weekdays and Sundays, or on trading equipment such as empty stalls, traders' chairs and ladders on Sundays.

#### **Space D (Goulston Street, Figure 7 - 11)**

Standing and sitting are frequent activities around weekday lunchtimes, and are rarely found on the day when the market is officially closed, which is Saturday. Standing to eat, observe,

and talk in particular, takes place around the food vans or at the street corners in the sunshine at weekday lunchtimes (D-b). Sitting usually takes place on outdoor seats (D-f and D-g) and on empty stalls or on bollards, frequently around weekday lunchtimes. On public holidays such as Mondays, guided tours bring people who stand, observe and talk while in the marketplace (D-i).

#### **Space E (Middlesex Street -1, Figure 7 - 12)**

Standing to browse, queue, rest, eat, wait for friends or family, and take photos, happens frequently on Sundays during opening hours, regardless of the season. People stand around stalls, building frontages or street corners (E-b), or take photos of the mural on a street wall (E-g). On Sunday mornings, a crowd of standing people frequently gathers around to watch and listen to the choir performance taking place at the building corner (E-d). People sit on the outdoor café seats or on benches (E-c and E-e) at all times, more often on opening days. Guided tours take place regularly on Saturday afternoons (E-f), when the market is officially closed, with tourists walking through the empty stalls along the street.

#### **Space F (Middlesex Street -2, Figure 7 - 13)**

During Sunday opening times, people stand in front of the shops (F-a), around the market stalls (F-b), at street corners (F-c), and around traders' advertising stands in the road (F-f). Sitting is frequent on Sundays on the outdoor café seats (F-i), and on the edges of flowerbeds, and also takes place on the kerbs of the traffic island in the road, or on the trading equipment such as empty stalls (F-j). In particular, people gather around the flowerbeds, the traffic island, and empty market stalls in the sunshine near the food stalls (F-k).

#### **Space G (Middlesex Street -3, Figure 7 - 14)**

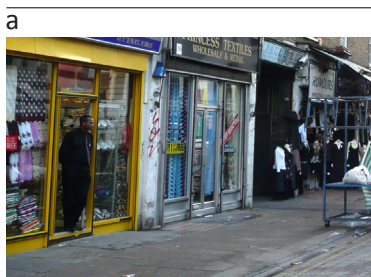
On Sundays, standing takes place around clothes and food stalls (G-e), the corners of streets (G-c), and traders' advertising signs, especially in the roadway. Filming of people, products in the market stalls, and historic features of the marketplace, take place around the street on occasion. Sitting frequently takes place on Sundays on the empty stalls, and from time to time on the edges of flowerbeds (G-e), but rarely on the benches on the corner of Middlesex Street near Whitechapel High Street.



Figure 7-8. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space A (Wentworth Street)



Figure 7-9. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space B (Wentworth Street)



activity: standing/ watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the retail units  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: on the road, around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: on the empty stalls frequently  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



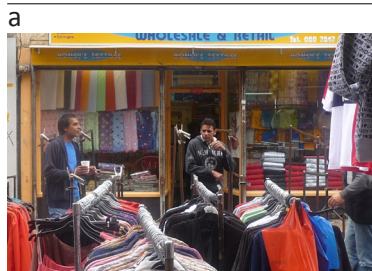
activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: outdoor cafe seats  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon- Sunday in summer



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: at the edge of street  
frequency: frequently  
when: Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



Figure 7-10. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space C (Wentworth Street)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the retail units  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



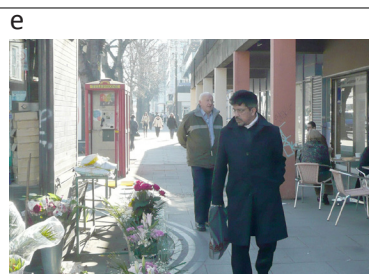
activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: around the food stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



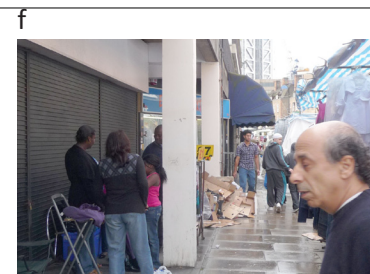
activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers (visitors or tourists)  
location: around the gate  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: outdoor cafe seats  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Sunday during all opening times in summer

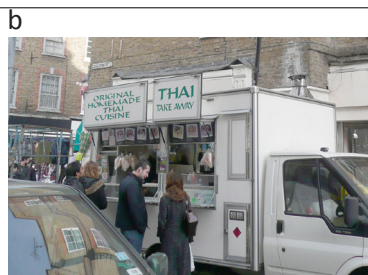


activity: standing/ watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: covered area of the buildings  
frequency: frequently  
when: whenever it is raining

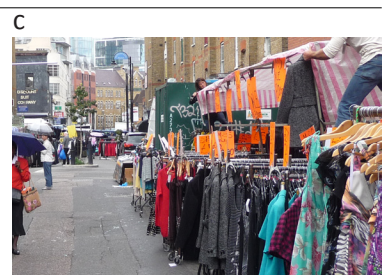
Figure 7-11. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space D (Goulston Street)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the retail units  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the food stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Friday after 12.00



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/ watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Tue-Friday after 12.00, and Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: on the empty stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



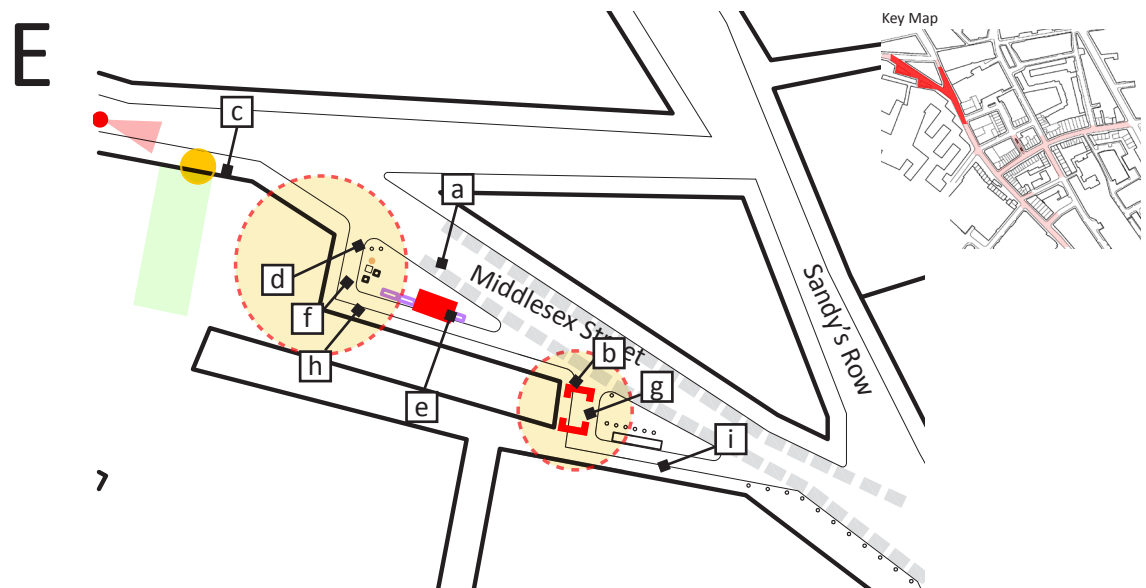
activity: sitting/ watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: food van seats  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Friday during their opening times in summer

Figure 7-11. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space D (Goulston Street) (continued)

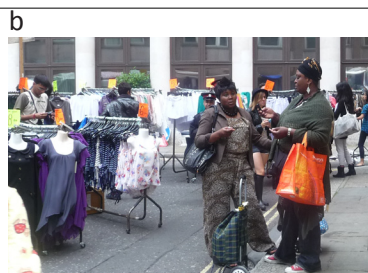




Figure 7-12. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space E (Middlesex Street)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
location: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: outdoor cafe seats  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times in summer



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: local community and customers  
location: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday morning

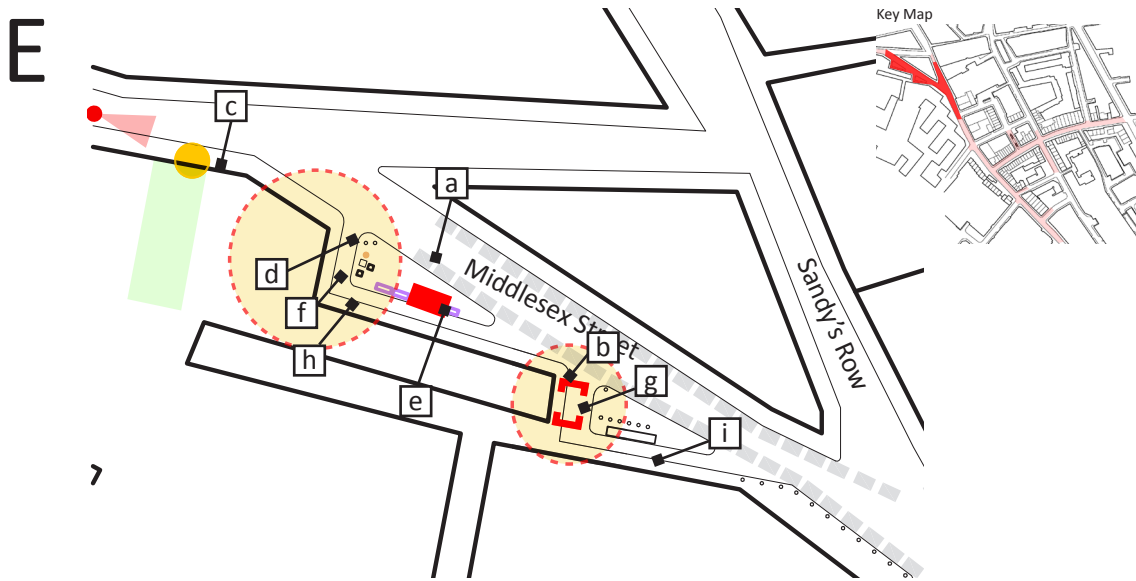


activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: benches  
frequency: frequently  
when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching and listening  
who: guide tour group  
location: on the corner  
frequency: regularly  
when: Saturday around 14.00

Figure 7-12. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space E (Middlesex Street) (continued)



activity: standing/taking photos  
who: customers (visitors or tourists)  
location: around the mural  
frequency: frequently  
when: Saturday and Sunday



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
location: covered areas of the buildings  
frequency: frequently  
when: whenever it is raining



activity: standing  
who: marathon participants  
location: along the street around the mural  
frequency: one time  
when: Saturday



Figure 7-13. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space F (Middlesex Street)

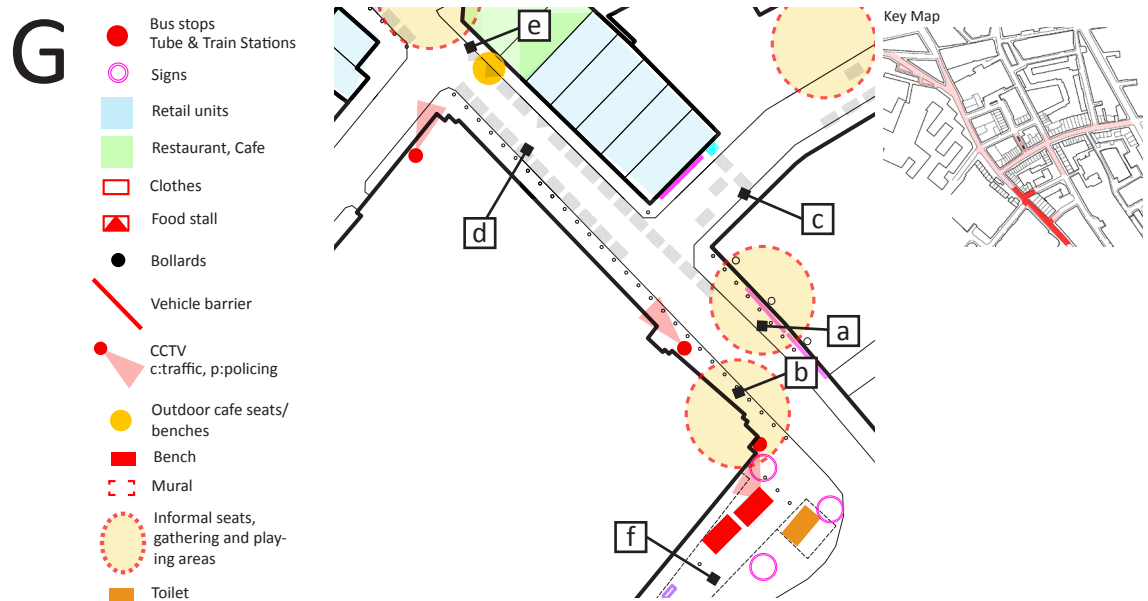


Figure 7-13. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space F (Middlesex Street) (continued)





Figure 7-14. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space G (Middlesex Street)



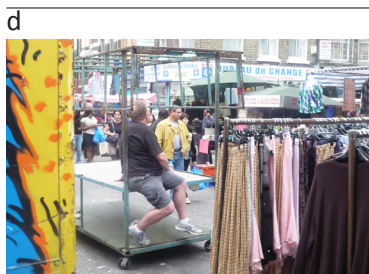
activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: traders and customers  
 location: around the stalls  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Sunday during the opening times



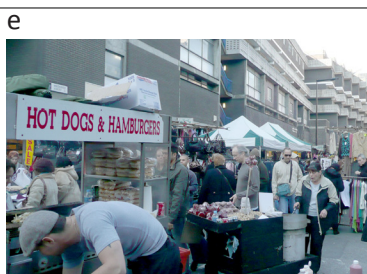
activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 location: on the corner  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 location: around the stalls  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 location: empty stalls  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 location: around the food stalls  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Sunday during the opening times



activity: sitting/ watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 location: benches  
 frequency: rarely  
 when: Sunday during the opening times

Figure 7-15. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space H (Middlesex Street)



### **Space H (Middlesex Street -4, Figure 7 - 15)**

Standing takes place frequently only on Sundays around clothes stalls (H-a), near street corners (H-b), around traders' advertising signs, in the parking building and in the road (H-e). Sitting takes place from time to time on the street kerbs on sunny days (H-c).

### **Office workers, university students, women, families, elderly people, tourists and traders, and their activities**

#### **Office workers (Figure 7 - 16)**

Male and female office workers are actively engaged in standing or sitting to observe, eat or rest around lunchtimes on opening weekdays regardless of the season. They come alone or with their colleagues. Whereas female office workers are shopping for clothes, male office workers come for food and are eating, smoking and talking on the phone in the sunshine. They found diverse types of seats such as those at outdoor cafés or near food van, on traders' cars and on equipment such as ladders, chairs, and empty stalls or street kerbs and street furniture. Sunny space is important to encourage them to spend their time in the marketplace.

#### **University students (Figure 7-17)**

Female or male university students come from London Metropolitan University. They visit the market regularly in the morning for the ethnic food in Goulston Street or around lunchtimes during the weekdays. They eat food and sit at the outdoor café or food van seats. They come alone or with their friends.

#### **Women, families with children, elderly people, and ethnic groups (Figure 7- 18)**

Local residents from council housing, ethnic people, and regular market users can be observed at any time and any day in the marketplace. The local residents and regular visitors to the market who live in the borough are normally women, families with children, and elderly people. In addition to the traders being of diverse ethnic backgrounds and African female shopkeepers in the textile retail shops, the visitors are also Africans or from diverse ethnic groups, speaking diverse languages. African women come to shop with their friends, families and children on all weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays, and visit the wholesale African textile retail shops along Wentworth Street, Bell Lane and Middlesex Street. They are shopping for clothes in the street market, and the African textile retail shops are places to conduct their social relationships. Customers' children play in the streets around the stalls.



Figure 7-16. | Office workers' use



Male and female workers are walking around weekday lunchtimes, buying lunch or clothes, standing or sitting around the food stalls

Figure 7-17. | University students' use



Male and female university students are walking around weekday lunchtimes, buying lunch or clothes, standing or sitting around the food stalls

Figure 7-18. | Women, families and elderly people's use



Elderly people are walking on Sunday, buying lunch or clothes, standing or sitting on benches, outdoor cafe seats or street furniture



Women and families are walking on weekdays and Sundays, standing or sitting. Children are playing around the stalls

Figure 7-19. | Tourists' use



Families or backpackers are walking on Saturdays and Sundays, standing or sitting around the stalls or taking photos around the signboards



### **Tourists (Figure 7-19)**

Another user group is tourists, mostly young visitors or families with children. They visit on Sundays, and also on the day when the market is officially closed - Saturdays (or public holidays), especially with the guided tours. They eat, rest, browse and take photos, consult maps, and use the formal and informal seating such as benches, outdoor seats of local cafés, street kerbs, street furniture, edges of flowerbeds, or kerbs on the traffic islands around the market. Tourists also go to other markets in the area such as Brick Lane or old Spitalfields Market, especially in the festival season.

### **Traders in multi-ethnicity (Figure 7-20)**

Streets are also working and resting places for traders. They gather around empty stalls and at the corners of buildings and streets, particularly at closing time on sunny days. While traders are setting up, carrying products, selling, advertising, resting and packing up, they also frequently sit on chairs or trading equipment such as ladders or carriers while waiting for customers. On public or school holidays, traders' children play in the street around the empty stalls. As there are many family traders selling clothes and food, children sit or play around the stalls and in front of the retail shops on public or school holidays and Sundays.

## **7.3 Physicality of the market place**

This section examines the physical attributes of the market responding to the functional activities of walking, shopping, sightseeing, standing and sitting in the marketplace. The physical attributes consist of local shops along the street, cafés, restaurants, and tourist attractions such as the market in terms of land uses, with the layout of the market stalls and food vans being important for accessibility, and amenities such as informal and formal seats and gathering areas, and covered areas providing weather protection.

The optimum number of people that can have free use of the street suggests the capacity of the setting to accommodate both static and social activities. The layout of the stalls is therefore important in determining accessibility, and the amount of circulation and amenity space allowing sitting and gathering in the marketplace.

Figure 7-20. | Traders' use of the streets, illustrating also the multi-ethnic community



Traders and shopkeepers are talking and gathering around their stalls



Children are playing during the opening times

African traders and customers are gathering at the textile retail units during market opening times



Traders are gathering in a weekday market (Wentworth Street in winter)

### **Storage for stalls, trading equipment, and traders' parking space (Figures 7-21 and 7-22)**

Regardless of whether they are permanent or casual stallholders, their products and trading equipment such as stalls, display trays, ladders, trolleys, mirrors, and coverings for weather protection, are portable, and brought by the traders to the fixed pitches in the street each day. Food vans also carry cooking equipment and seats. Poor weather conditions such as wind and rain force people to stop trading and shopping in the streets. Facilities such as storage rely on informal use of the retail shops in the marketplace. Some of these shop owners may also run stalls in the market. Stalls for Sunday trading are left in the streets around Wentworth Street on weekdays. On Saturdays when the market is closed, stalls are moved from the pitches by a private company that manages the stalls on a contract basis for the local authority.

Although display depends on the types of products such as clothes, shoes or accessories, certain sizes of stalls and pitches were allocated according to regulations, particularly with pitches being small for the Sunday market. Therefore, traders change the stalls according to the types of products they sell. In addition, informal displays are placed in the street or around building corners, and challenge the boundary of the pitches. Clothes traders acquire a large number of pitches and set up large stalls, whereas others selling shoes or accessories tend to have only one pitch (Figure 7-21).

Vehicles are controlled by movable barriers arranged for public access during market opening times. Provision for traders' parking is also an important factor. Illegal parking took place during weekday opening times on Goulston Street and Bell Lane, close to the market because traders use the vehicles for storage, while retailers also take deliveries in the morning or afternoon. Vehicles parked in streets close to the market interrupt physical and visual access to the market on Sundays, and reduce visibility, although the street pattern around Petticoat Lane benefits from good permeability and accessibility (Figure 7-22).

### **Local shops, cafés, restaurants and markets in the surrounding area (Figure 7-23)**

African textile, clothes, accessories, and shoe shops, cafés and restaurants in Middlesex and Wentworth Streets operate on weekdays and Sundays whereas franchised cafés and restaurants in Middlesex Street are open only on weekdays and closed on Sundays. Many of them are open on Saturdays, and are instead closed on Mondays. Ethnic or halal food, related to religious preferences, is provided at local cafés. Brick Lane, old Spitalfields market, and Christ Church Spitalfields are important heritage features and represent tourist destinations around Petticoat Lane.



Figure 7-21. | Trading equipment and facilities: a certain sized of stalls and storage relying on traders

a



standard stall and pitch size arranged by the local authority

b



stalls for clothes, altered by traders

c



stalls for accessories, shoes and bags, altered by traders

d



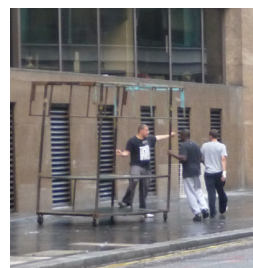
Food stalls on Sunday



Food vans with seats on weekdays



Movable equipment and vehicles, arranged by traders

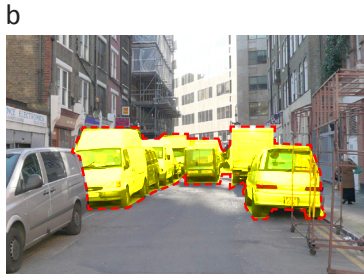


Setting up stalls on Saturdays, and dismantling the stalls at Sunday's closing times by private agencies

Figure 7-22. | Trading facilities: traders' parking space at street and accessibility (Sunday)



movable vehicle barriers by the local authority



traders' parking, blocking access

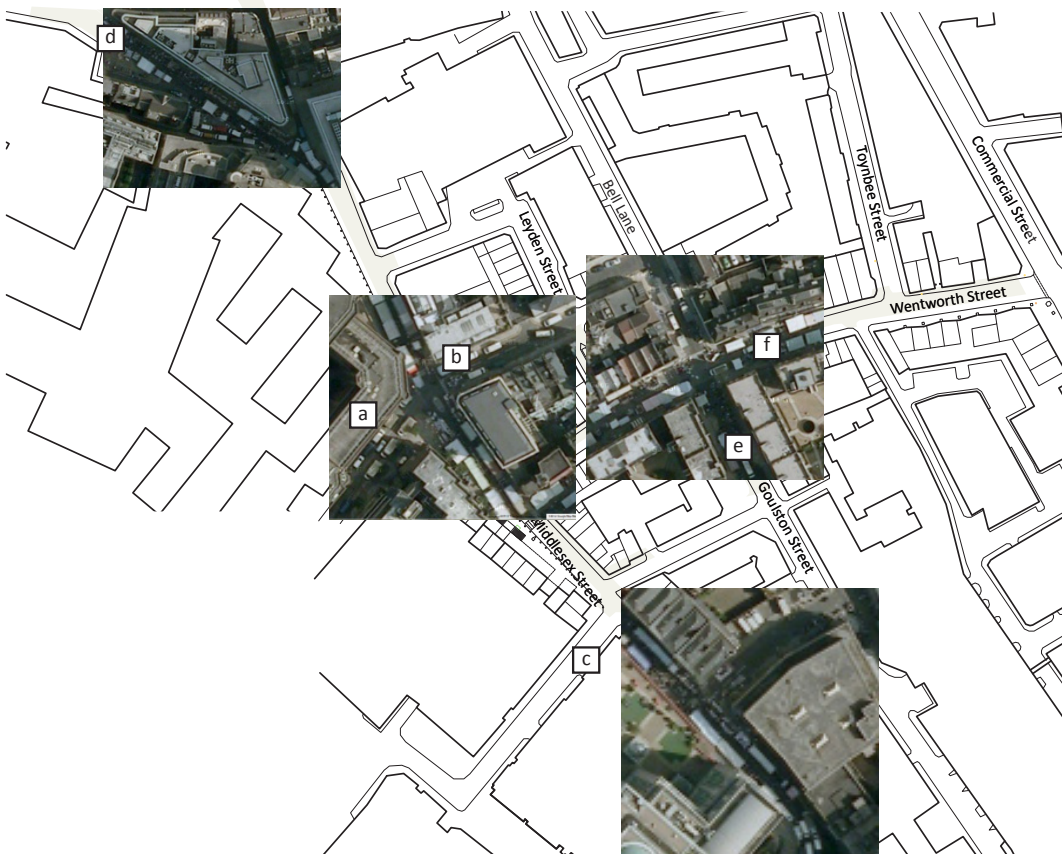
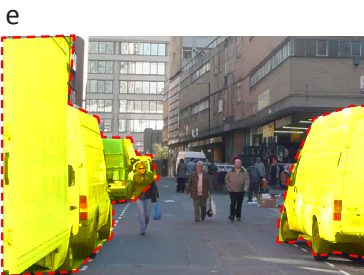




Figure 7-23. | Land uses: local retail units, cafés, restaurants, and tourist attractions around the streets, open on market days



African textile retail units, restaurants and cafes, open on market days



Restaurants, open only on weekdays



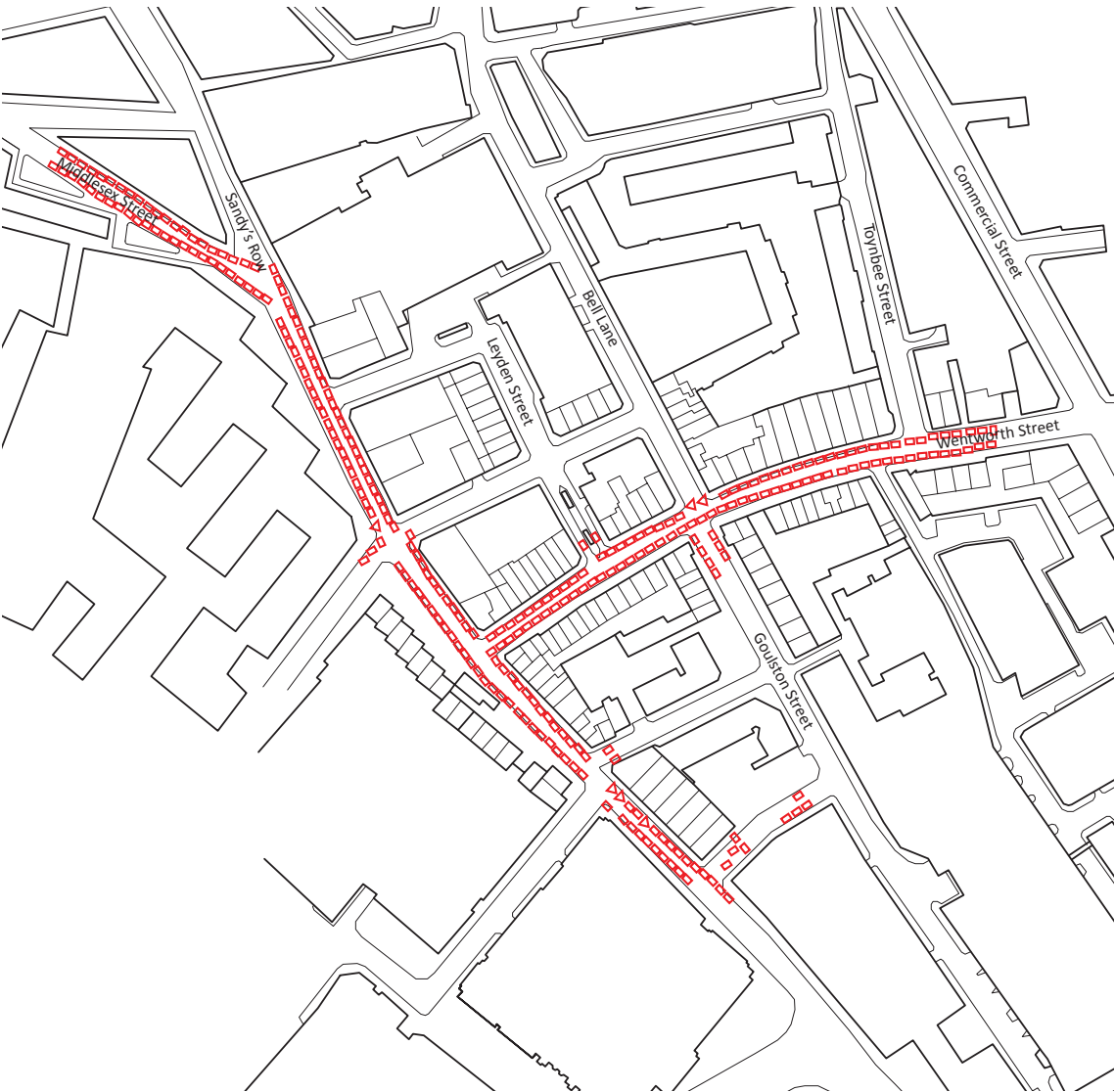
Figure 7-24. | Accessibility: layout of stalls and food vans in Petticoat Lane | weekdays (winter 10-3pm, Summer 10-5pm, 2008)



Figure 7-24. | Accessibility: layout of stalls and food vans in Petticoat Lane (continued) | Sundays (winter 10-3pm, Summer 10-5pm, 2008)

Sunday

- clothing stalls
- △ food stalls or vans



### **Layout of stalls and food vans for accessibility (Figure 7-24)**

The layout of stalls depends on the location of pitches according to regulations, and displays are also regulated to ensure public access and to protect local residents' rights in relation to noise. However, informal displays by stallholders and retail shop owners, and tables and chairs provided by cafés and food vans affect accessibility. Displays of products with colour, smell and sound, add variety to the market atmosphere, and offer visual richness to the market, encouraging shopping during opening times. Music is played on Sundays by some pitches selling clothes or CDs.

Furthermore, a small number of stalls are set up on some pitch-locations on weekdays, with the linear layout of stalls along the streets operating with no passageways between stalls. This is an obstacle to access, especially on Sundays when visitors, especially those with pushchair stand to buy produce, take photos, rest or eat. The pitch-marking in Wentworth Street was redrawn in 2008, when pitch-sizes became wider, and was controlled by instructing traders not to interrupt pedestrian access.

### **Signage (Figure 7-25)**

A wall mural near the market became a landmark and was popular with tourists who photographed it. Graffiti was found on walls and buildings in the area. As well as signs indicating the direction to the marketplace, and banners on the street lights in the streets, a handwritten sign placed at the junction with on Bishopsgate Road was provided regularly for the Sunday market by the traders during the market's opening times.

### **Informal and formal seats (Figure 7-26), gathering areas (Figure 7-27), covered areas for weather protection (Figures 7-28) and public toilets**

Diverse types of informal and formal seats are available in and around Petticoat Lane market and cater to regular demand, and maximise sitting that is available in the streets, whereas the number of formal benches or outdoor seats in cafés or around food vans are limited on Sundays (Figure 7-26). Public seats for free use are provided in the street (Spaces E), and people occupy informal seats such as street kerbs, edges of flowerbeds, kerbs around traffic islands, and bollards which are available at any time, and trading equipment during market opening times on Sundays. Outdoor café seats are also provided during their opening times but only on weekdays in summer. They are only for customers' use but offer diverse types of seats. Small gathering areas are created around the street corners, market stalls, buildings, the wall mural, food stalls and toilets (Figure 7-27).

Figure 7-25. | Signage around Petticoat Lane





Figure 7-26. | Informal and formal seats in the streets

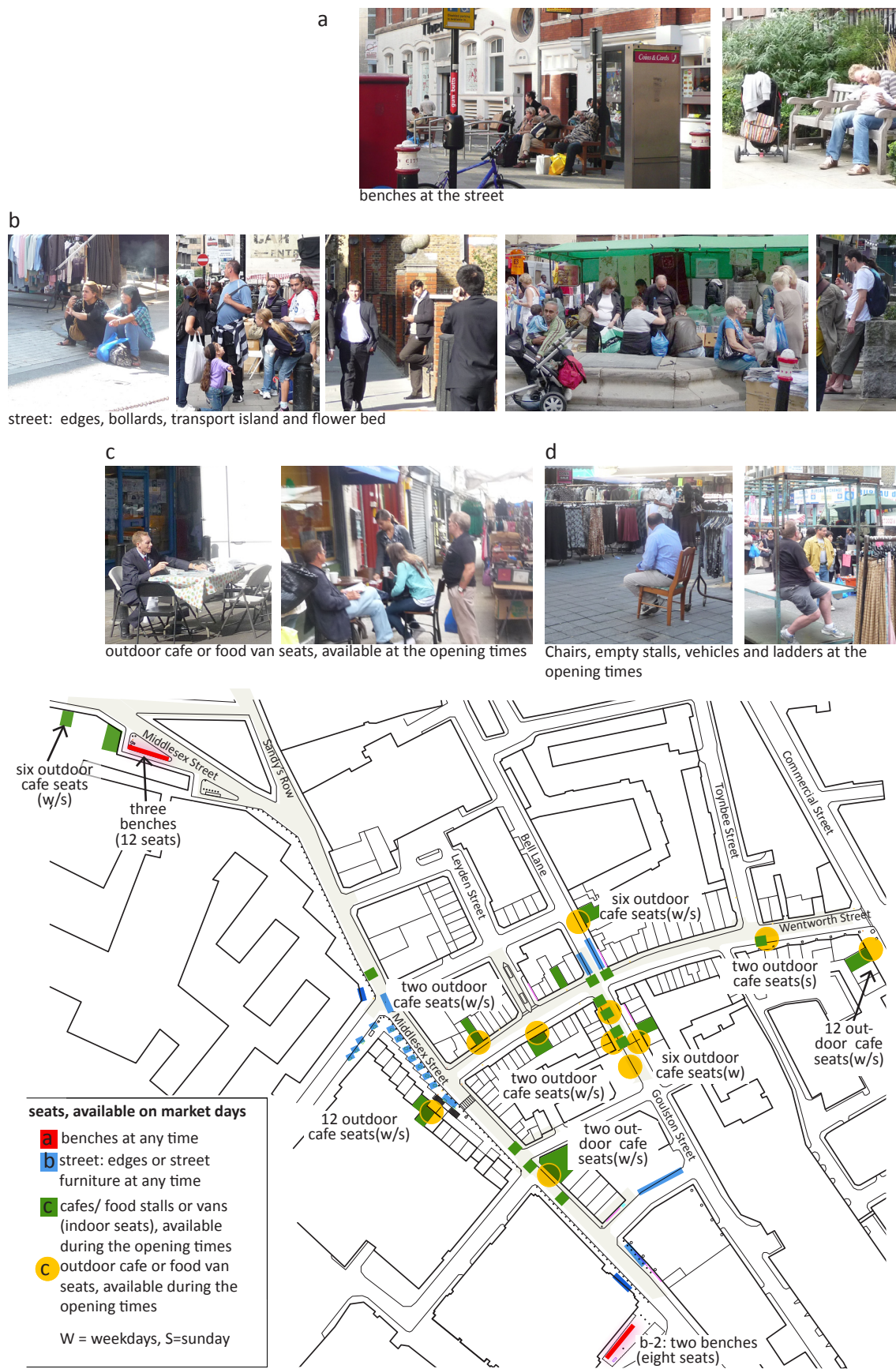


Figure 7-27. | Gathering areas on Sunday in the streets





Figure 7-28. | Covered areas for the protection from the weather, relying on traders



Covered areas around buildings are good places to stand in rainy weather. Coverings protect products and create temporary shelter over stalls during opening times, and rely on provision by traders (Figure 7-28). Whenever it is raining, more shelter is created by retail shop owners, building on the relationships between the retail shop owners and the market stallholders. For example, the location and size of the weather protection coverings are diverse, and may cover the pavement between the shops and the stalls, and around the food stalls, particularly for those stalls run by retailers. In sunny weather, Goulston Street (Space D) and Bell Lane (Space B) on weekdays and Middlesex Street (Space F) on Sundays are stored these protective coverings. Toilets in local cafés along the street are used by the traders as the local authority has not fixed the public toilet in the marketplace. Public toilets are provided only for Sunday use by the City of London which locks the facilities so people cannot be used at other times.

## **Number of people who come to Petticoat Lane**

### **Number at weekday lunchtimes and Sundays (Figure 7-29)**

The number of people who come to Petticoat Lane suggests that shopping promotes encounters. More people come to the market on opening days, although not many people come to the marketplace in the mornings and on Mondays. Regarding access over time, more people come to the market around weekday lunchtimes: 1.4 times as many in Commercial Street, and 5.7 times as many in Bell Lane. Thursday and Friday lunchtimes and Sundays are critical times related to the institutional timetables of work and living. In particular, the number of people accessing Bell Lane and Middlesex Street on weekday lunchtimes is higher than in other streets. On Sundays, the number increases. Access from Middlesex Street via Bishopsgate Road and Commercial Street is higher, and nearly twice the number of people comes through Middlesex Street in the afternoons.

### **Sitting at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays in the summer (Figure 7-30)**

The daily number of people sitting in and around the market reveals more sitting at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays, especially in summer (Table 7A, 7B, 7C and Figure 7-31). However, proximity to stalls is particularly important as the benches on the corner of Middlesex Street (b-2) are rarely used for sitting. Outdoor café seats (C-1 and C-2) provide the majority of seats occupied by people at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays, regardless of the season (75% in winter and 65% in summer). Informal seats such as street kerbs, edges of flowerbeds, kerbs around traffic islands, and bollards, increase the seating capacity of the marketplace (13% of formal seats), especially on Sundays in the summer (8% in winter and 16% in summer).

Figure 7-29. | Number of people who come to Petticoat Lane

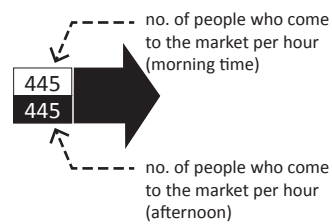
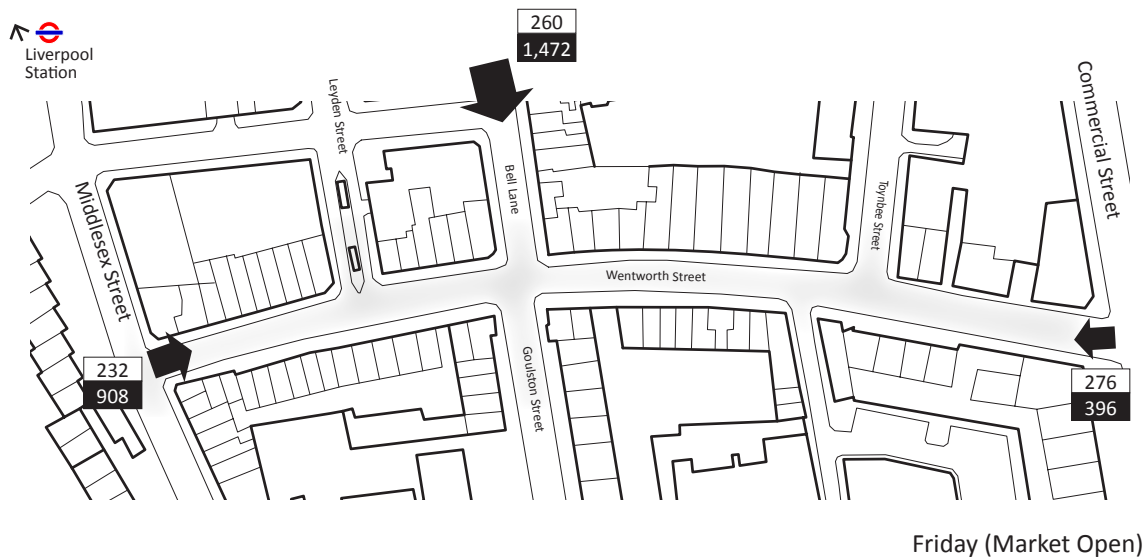
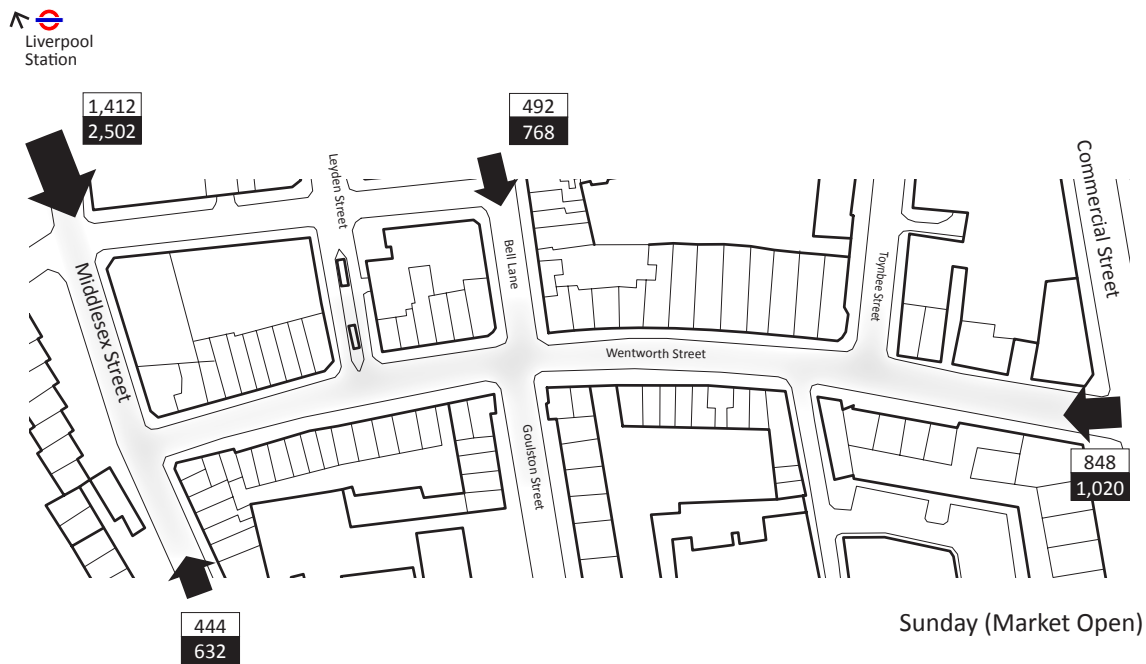


Figure 7-30. | Vital activities in the streets on Sundays



Middlesex Street is the main road for vehicles serving the area and turns into a play ground and gathering space on Sundays.

Figure 7-31. | Location of seats in Petticoat Lane

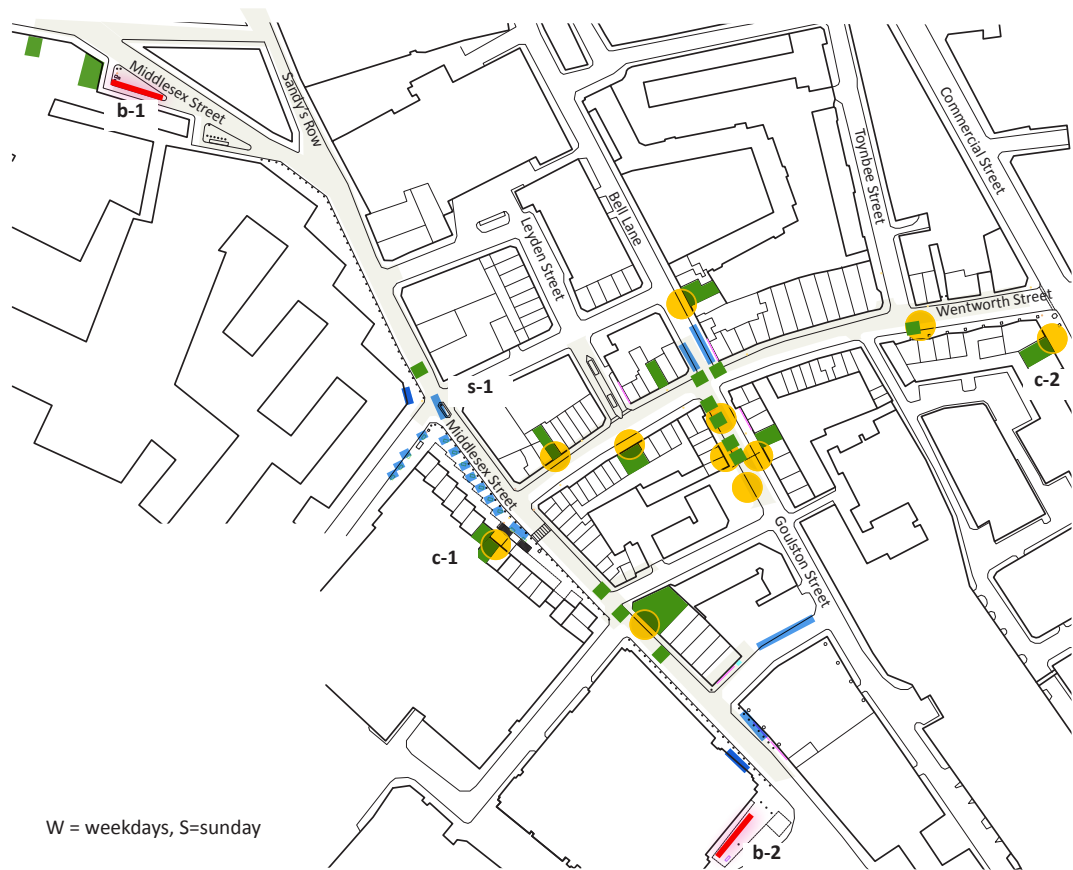
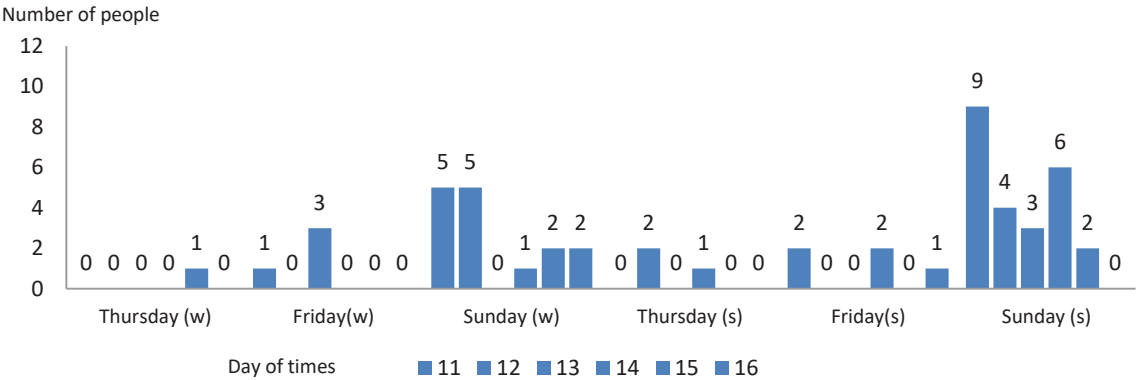
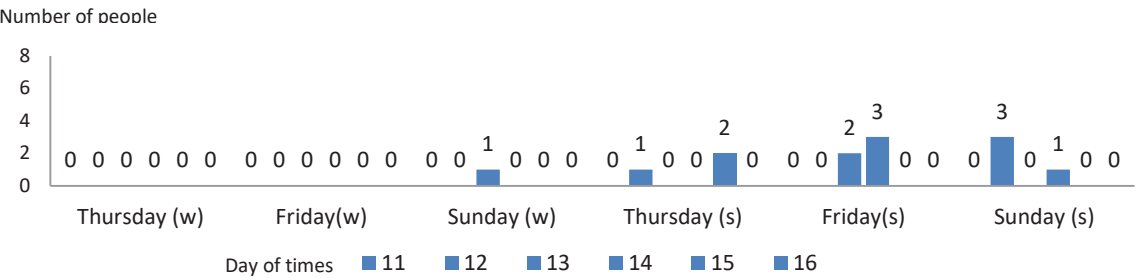


Table 7A. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space b: benches in the streets)



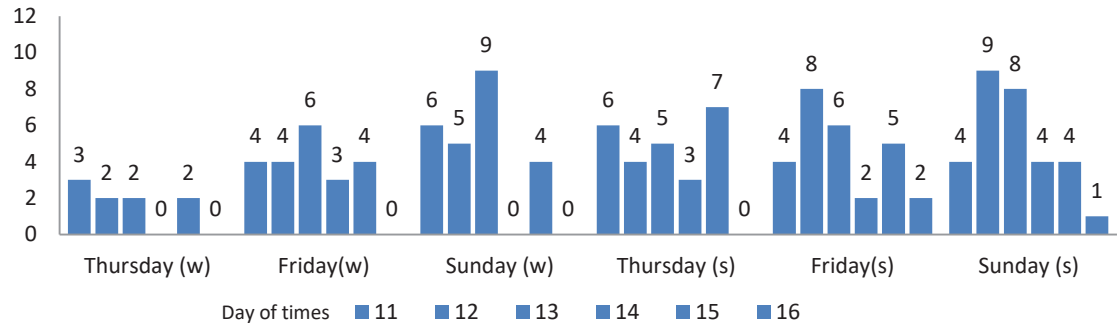
b-1 (w: winter, s: summer)/ source: author's own data



b-2 (w: winter, s: summer)/ source: author's own data

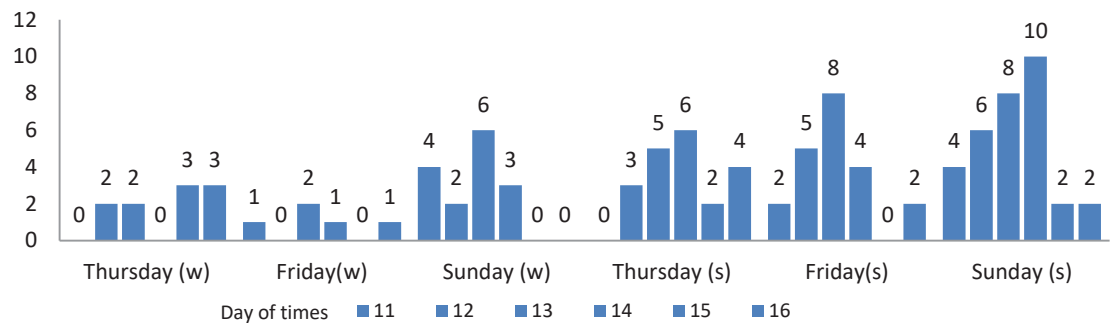
**Table 7B. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space c: outdoor café seats)**

Number of people



c-1 (w: winter, s: summer)/ source: author's own data (2008)

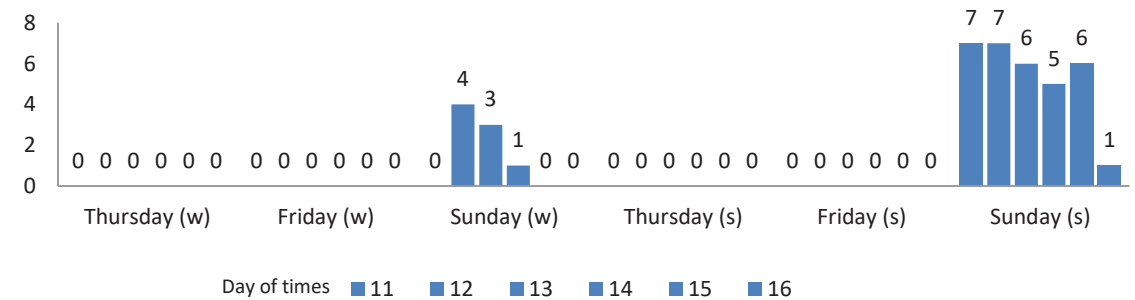
Number of people



c-2 (w: winter, s: summer)/ source: author's own data (2008)

**Table 7C. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space s: informal seats)**

Number of people



s-1 (w: winter, s: summer)/ source: author's own data (2008)

## 7.4 Management of the market

This section focuses on how Petticoat Lane is managed and by whom. Table 7D reveals that the market is managed by traders, café and retail shop owners, and departments in the local council. The official and unofficial management of the market is investigated in terms of strict application of regulations and unofficial trading, actions for legibility, and routine maintenance.



Times of operation and timings of maintenance works indicate that unofficial management matches patterns of use whereas management by the local authority does not.

Management by the local authority involves the application of regulations and legislation on street trading, especially times of operation and pitch-locations for traffic and pedestrian access and safety. This market management includes enforcement; for example, the daily inspection of licensing and trading by Tower Hamlets Council, in accordance with the London Local Authorities Act 1990. Regular inspection is also undertaken by Tower Hamlets Council of signboards and tables and chairs that could act as temporary obstacles. The local authority penalised misconduct such as unlicensed trading or interfering with physical access, by prosecution or revocation of traders' licenses. Notices inform alert penalties, for example, for leaving piles of rubbish in the street.

**Table 7D. Elements related to market use, operators, and their locations and times of operation**

Elements related to USE	Locations	Times of operation
Parking space for traders, controlled by the local council	In the streets near the market	Needed during the market opening times
Trading facilities (storage for stalls), offered by private agencies	In the streets near the market	Needed during the market opening times
Products, offered by traders	E, F, G and F	Sunday on the market opening times
	A, B and C	Weekdays and Sunday on the market opening times
	D	Weekdays on the market opening times
Community events, organised by a local church	E	Sundays
Guided walking tours, organised by the local council	D and F	Saturdays and public holidays (not on market opening days)
Fixed signs, placed by the local council	A, C and H	All the time
Handwritten signs offered by traders	E	Needed on Sundays (on market opening days)
Benches, placed by the local council	A and H	All the time
Outdoor café seats, offered by café owners	A-F	Needed on weekdays in summer (on market opening days)
Informal seats	A-H	All the time
Weather protection, provided by traders	A-H	Needed on Sunny or rainy days on market opening times
Mural, placed by the local council	E	All the time
public toilets, provided by the local council	Public toilets	Only on Sundays, and needed on weekdays during the market opening times
Maintenance, provided by the local council	B, C and G	Twice a year, needed on the market opening days)
Cleaning, provided by the local council	In the streets	Twice a day, needed on the market opening times
Patrolling by Metropolitan police	In the streets	Twice a day, needed on the market opening times

Source: author's own summary

### **Strict application of regulations and unofficial trading (Figure 7-32)**

However, despite the regulations controlling pitch-locations and times of operation, the number and location of stalls change daily. There are empty stalls and pitches between operating stalls, and a few traders also operate on Saturdays - the day when the market is officially closed. Only 35% of the pitches are occupied on Mondays, and more than 50% from Wednesdays to Fridays. Some of the stalls are operated by the retailers of the shops along the street, and they organise illegal trading on Saturdays on Wentworth Street (Table 7E). Furthermore, food vans in Goulston Street operate on four weekdays, only around lunchtimes, and are closed on public holidays.

Opening times depend on the season and the weather. Traders come to the market between 10am and 11am when a market inspector monitors attendance, and leave at 3pm (winter) and 5pm (summer) and close early if it is raining or windy in winter.

**Table 7E. Number of market stalls operating in a week during the research period**

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Number of Stalls	45 (35% of the all pitches)	62 (49%)	73 (58%)	76 (60%)	78 (62%)	7(-)	254(107%)

Source: author's own data (2008, summer)

Monitoring tenure according to the trading regulations maintains traders' attendance and benefits market vitality. However, in winter, traders are idle much of the time, while waiting for customers and gather with the other traders in the passageways during opening times. They were active in selling on Sundays or in the summer (Figure 7-20).

### **Routine cleaning of the street (Figure 7-33)**

Cleaning is allocated and done by Tower Hamlets Council routinely in the mornings and afternoons on weekdays regardless of the times of operation of Petticoat Lane market. Vehicles collect litter once a day on weekdays in Middlesex Street.

Routine maintenance is applied to repairs of the road and public seating such as benches by the local authority. Road works and maintenance of the road surface are carried out by departments across government and local authorities. On Sundays, the City of London Corporation cleans the streets for the Sunday market. Fixed rubbish bins are provided in the streets by the City of London.

Figure 7-32. | Compliance of regulations and illegal trading and display

(Sunday in winter 8m-2pm, in summer 8am-4pm, 2008)



Red and blue markings on the road, controlled by the local council

Display on Sunday, controlled by the local council



illegal trading on Saturday when the market is closed

illegal trading on Sunday, not on a designated pitch



Figure 7-33. | Routine cleaning by departments in the local council



Figure 7-34. | Graffiti, CCTV and policing





Figure 7-35. | Petticoat Lane activities: guided tours, school trips, advertising, community events and filming



guided tours regularly on Saturdays or Mondays, organised by the local council



advertising on Sundays, organised by traders



community events regularly on Sunday mornings, organised by a local community church



routes around Petticoat Lane (source: [www.towerhamlets.gov.uk](http://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk), 2007)

### **Traders' self-regulation, policing for safety (Figure 7-34)**

Policing by Metropolitan Police officers is regular in the mornings and the afternoons. CCTV cameras are located around Petticoat Lane; however, they are for the general purpose of safety in the neighbourhood (Figure 7-27). Traders' self-regulation and surveillance contributes to the safety and security of the market during opening times. Traders look after each other's property in the event of their absence to use the toilet or for other purposes such as helping to park or move vehicles.

### **Community events, guided walking tours, and banners and mural for legibility (Figure 7-35)**

Planned cultural activities such as an art event were special occasions organised by the local authority. For example, a project entitled 'Street' was commissioned by the Whitechapel Gallery, and for the first year it focused on the area around Wentworth Street which included Petticoat Lane market. Additionally, as a temporary event, 'S.COOP', was launched by a Mexican artist from April to June 2009 (1).

The history of the market is given on the council website. Petticoat Lane is introduced as one of the local places of interest: 'the most famous and oldest of all London's street markets. Petticoat Lane still attracts visitors from all over the world' ([www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/data/discover](http://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/data/discover), 2007). Guided walking tours are regularly conducted such as the 'Banglatown and the Bengali East End' trail through historic locations such as Wentworth Street and Middlesex Street which is the heart of Petticoat Lane market (<http://www.towerhampets.gov.uk>, 2007). However, the guided tours were organised on Saturdays or public holidays, when the market has few visitors or is officially closed.

The local authority also placed banners advertising Petticoat Lane, on the lamp posts in Wentworth and Goulston Streets to support the place image of the market, in the winter of 2008. A mural depicting the market was also commissioned by the City of London in 2008. The mural was commissioned by the local authority in 2009 for Middlesex Street. Community events such as a choir recital are regularly organised by a local church community on Sunday

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<sup>1</sup> This project was sponsored by the private foundation J.P. Morgan through the J.P. Morgan Art of Learning Programme, the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation and an anonymous private donor. The Mexican artist has opened an ice cream shop at Toynbee Street. She built links between Petticoat Lane and members of an old, established British cooperative movement that had started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The members would be given tokens that could be exchanged for groceries. She used this alternative economic model for her project, designing special coins that would be accepted for ice creams at her shop or could be returned to the Whitechapel Gallery ([www.whitechapelgallery.org](http://www.whitechapelgallery.org)).



mornings in the marketplace. Retailers and café owners advertised their products and locations on signboards regularly on Sunday mornings in the passageways of Middlesex Street.

## 7.5 Use, management and physicality perceived by users and the local authority

This section discusses pressures from use on the economic, social and cultural aspects of the market place, and the physicality and management as perceived by users and by a market manager in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Regular users, local residents and traders provided feedback on their perceptions of the market as users. The positive and negative perceptions are presented by asking about users preferences, reflecting the conditions and qualities of the marketplace, and their priorities regarding these conditions and qualities.

### 7.5.1 Author's perceptions about the market spaces

#### **Litter, layout of stalls and road works observed on a walk Along Route A on a weekday (Space A, B, D and C, Figure 7- 36)**

African textiles sold at retail shops add colour and variety to the marketplace, along with the clothes, accessories, bags, shoes and scarves, signboards, the coloured buildings and colourful stall coverings. Attractive, colourful displays of fresh fruit, women's clothes, shirts, bags or travel bags, accessories, shoes and scarves on market stalls are seen at the entrance of the street shown on, along with products hung on the stalls which are arranged in the narrow pitches, or the retail shops along the street. Cafés give off an appealing smell of food. Stalls providing ethnic food such as Thai and Indian cuisine, along with cafés selling fish and chips, produce appealing smells and sounds of cooking. The food vans and local cafés offer outdoor seats in sunny weather, providing a pleasant eating experience, while corners and small spaces around the stalls offer places for standing while eating.

Traders' shouts and greetings, and friendly chat between traders create a vibrant impression of the market, as does the diversity of users' appearances and languages. Traders' social gatherings at street corners in the sunshine create a friendly atmosphere. Male and female office workers are talking and gathering, which gives a sense of social vitality and enhances the market atmosphere. Children coming home with their parents around school closing time give the air of a neighbourhood market.

However, it is quiet in the mornings, and rubbish such as unpacked boxes is scattered around. Piles of rubbish under the penalty warning sign are on the pavement, with vacant stalls around the corner. Empty pitches and stalls and road works around the market gateway interrupt access. Derelict textile retail shops in Toynbee Street are a sign of decline, with graffiti on the surrounding buildings.

**Litter, layout of stalls, road works, lack of seating, traders' parking and hidden location of the market spaces from a walk along Route B on Sunday (Spaces E, F, G and H, Figure 7- 37)**

The displays of women's clothes, shirts, travel bags, women's bags, accessories, shoes and scarves in and around stalls look untidy but offer a wide range of interesting products, with signs offering low prices. Shops dealing in African textiles and clothes are open as usual. Intriguing displays of products adorn the walls and corners around closed restaurants and offices. The smell of fried food from a food stall and Chinese cooking taking place next to music stalls playing Latin dance music also attracts people, with a traffic island and empty stalls for sitting, and a public toilet. At the entrance to the market, cafés provide outdoor seats in the sunshine, and offer cheap fried food and drink, and benches welcome tired customers.

Regarding the social atmosphere, many traders are shouting, chatting in a variety of languages, and gatherings around closing times, creating a friendly atmosphere. They also have stalls in Wentworth Street on weekdays, and greet people in a friendly manner. Traders and visitors from diverse ethnic backgrounds chat and laugh, adding to the friendly atmosphere. Children are playing and elderly people or families are resting in the marketplace. The sound of a choir around the corner is delightful in the morning.

However, vacant restaurants and offices along the street do not contribute to a friendly market atmosphere. The location of Petticoat Lane, away from main roads such as Bishopsgate Road and Whitechapel High Street, means that tourists and visitors have difficulty finding the market, and many of them ask for its location along with other tourist attractions such as Brick Lane and old Spitalfields Market.

A temporary handwritten sign on Bishopsgate Road gives directions to Petticoat Lane, but the multi coloured stall-coverings are blocked visually by traders' parked vehicles. The linear arrangement of stalls without passageways between them to the pavement offers no escape from the congestion in the marketplace around lunchtime. The rubbish that litters the road throughout opening hours is untidy, and road works are taking place in the middle of the street.

Figure 7-36. | Potential problems on weekday in Route A (Spaces A → B → D → C)

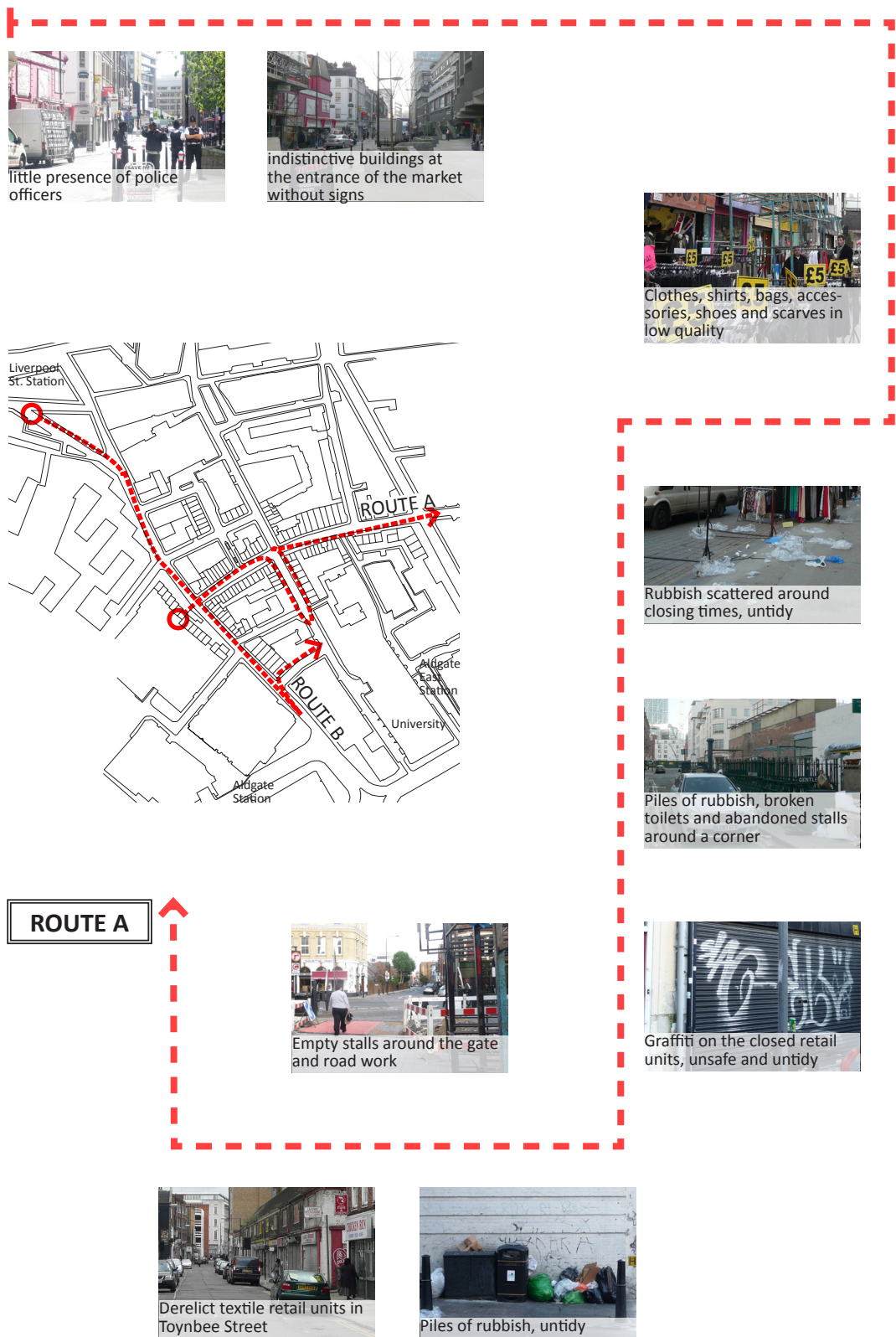
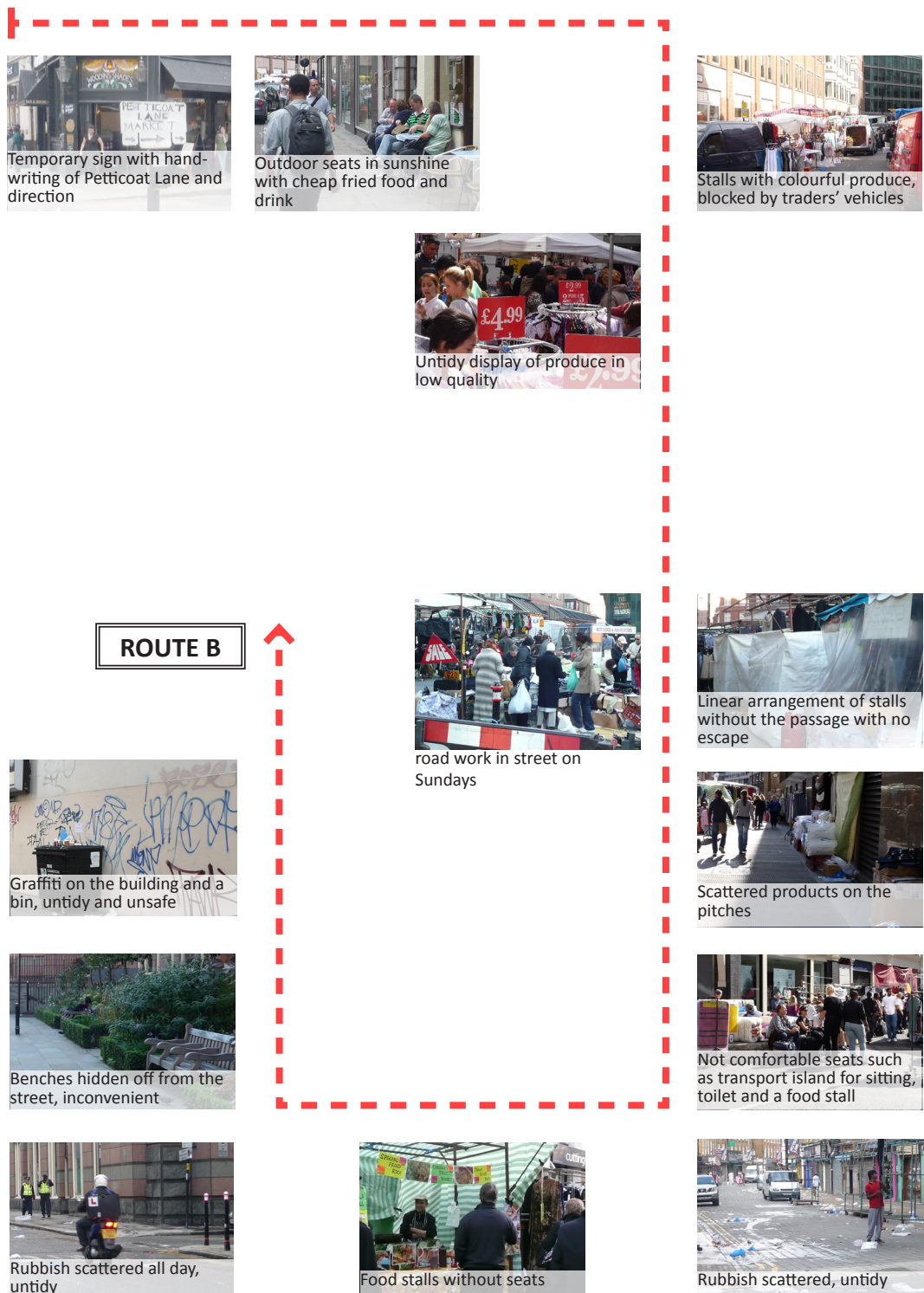


Figure 7-37. | Potential problems on Sunday in Route B (Spaces E → F → G → H)



Stalls are moved into the street from the storage area regardless of traders' attendance, so that empty stalls are set out on the pitches and the layout of stalls is the same regardless of the number of traders present. Benches are hidden off and not located on the street, and the public toilet is underground, and not convenient. Graffiti on the building creates an unsafe, untidy atmosphere.

### 7.5.2 Users' perceptions

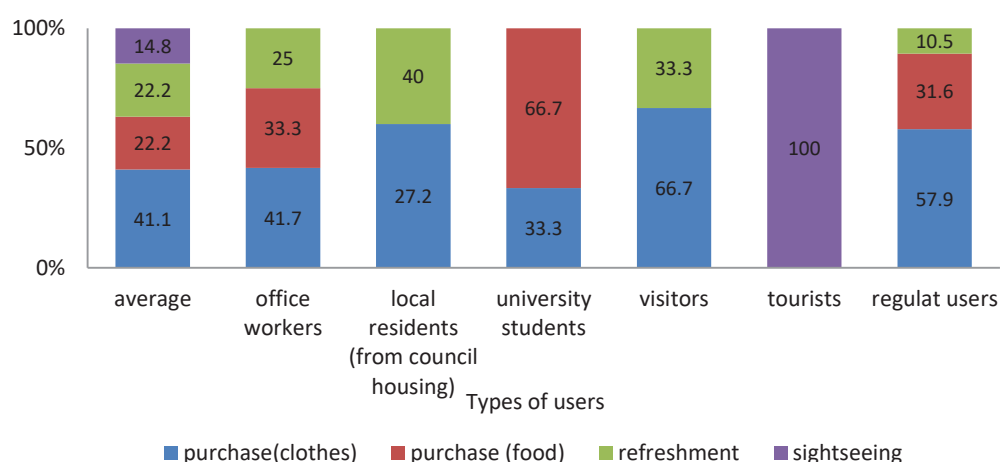
Among the interviewees, there are regular users who have been coming to Petticoat Lane for around ten years, and male office workers who have come for five years. There are local residents who live in the council housing, male and female office workers, university students from London Metropolitan University near to Petticoat Lane, and visitors who arrive via public transport from other areas in London.

Traders identify their main customers as Africans as low-income ethnic people (interview with a clothes trader, 2009); female office workers and tourists are also customers but tend not to buy (interview with a former representative of the street market, 2009).

Some interviewees came to the market to purchase clothes or food for lunch or refreshments, whereas tourists come for sightseeing as Petticoat Lane is one of London's historic street markets (Table 7F). Male office workers and university students come for food, while local residents and female office workers on weekdays and visitors on Sundays come for clothes (Table 7F). The locations in the markets they visited were clothes stalls, food vans and local cafés, and African textile, shoe, bag or clothing retail shops along the streets, and they also perceive these spaces around the market as being part of Petticoat Lane.

**Table 7F. Reasons for visiting Petticoat Lane**

Percentage reflecting most preferred reasons to visit



source: author's own data (2009)

### **Clothes and food at low prices, but low quality**

Low price for reasonable quality was given as the highest priority for a visit to Petticoat Lane by all regular users (Table 7G). People who come for refreshments including the office workers, tourists and local residents who live in new local residential developments, expressed no interest in the types and quality of products. A male office worker said, 'I just come here for fresh air and market activity. I haven't bought any clothes or items'. Even users drawn by the low prices said that the quality and range of products is limited. 'I know (they are) less quality clothes but come to the market because it was so cheap. But if there is guarantee of refund, I would use more often' (interview with an African visitor, 2009).

### **Friendly multi-ethnic traders and historic features, but lack of vitality**

Friendly traders and the historic features of an old market are given a high priority by users (Table 7G). Traders with diverse ethnic backgrounds contribute to the market atmosphere, which is characterised by multi-ethnicity and a good social relationship between local residents, office workers, and regular visitors. A local female resident from the nearby council housing said, 'they've been here for a long time. Friendly and nice. I have some close friends' (interview with a female local resident, 2009). Regular users do not need signs to find the market although tourists require them.

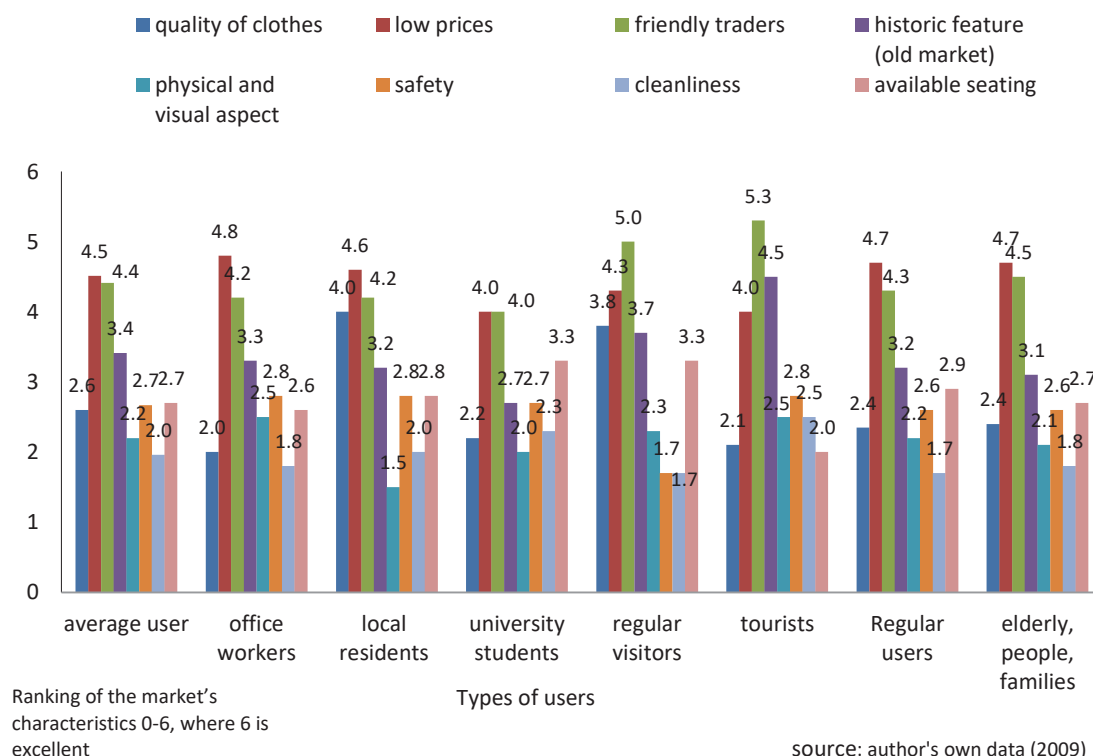
Perceptions of the market atmosphere depend on the days (Table 7H); the best time to visit was Sunday (53% to regular users) because of the wider range of products and, most of all,



vitality, or the animation of activities. 'It is thriving and very active, you know.... People come from everywhere' (interview with a visitor, 2009). Although office workers came only at weekday lunchtimes, they also stressed that Sunday is the best day to experience the market (interview with a female office worker, 2009).

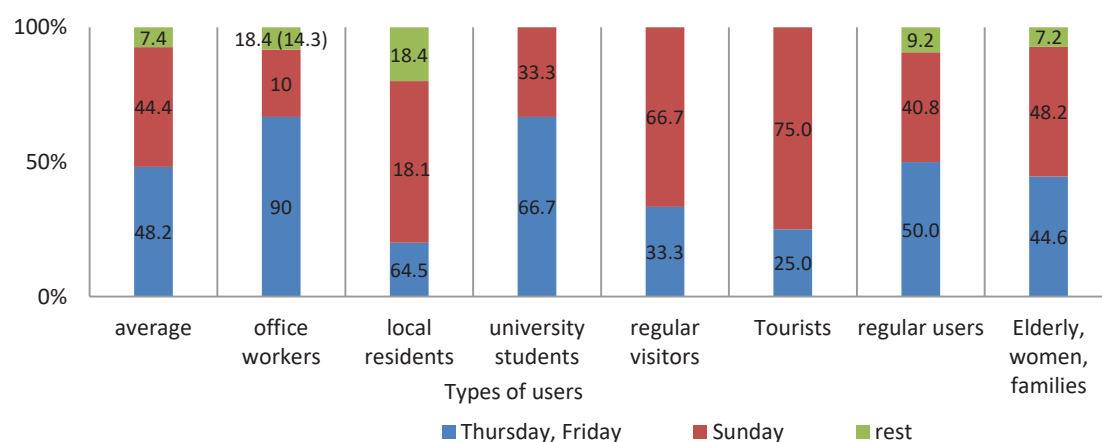
Although the market is the social and cultural place for the users, unattractive types and limited ranges of products discouraged users from visiting the market regularly. 'I come for a walk today (Wednesday) because it is a well-known traditional market but don't find any interesting product to see.... will not come again' (interview with a male office worker). The small number of people and activities on weekdays such as Monday or Tuesday made the market less identifiable. 'I visit Brick Lane very often to see friends there, and always pass this street, thinking this is a small street market with handful of people. I did not know this is Petticoat Lane' (interview with a visitor, 2009).

**Table 7G. Ranking of the market's characteristics according to user groups**



**Table 7H. Preference of days according to user groups**

Percentage reflecting most popular days to visit



source: author's own data (2009)

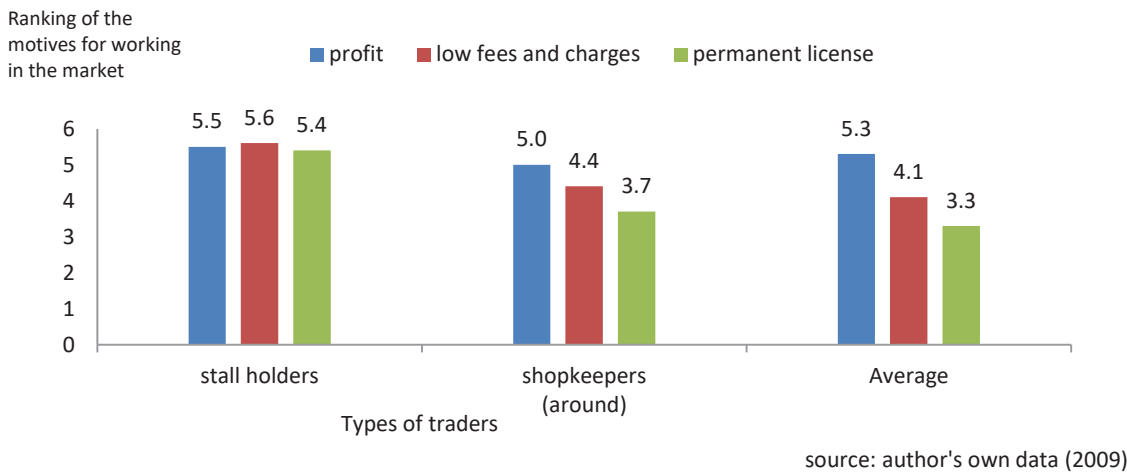
### Fear of crime, litter, and lack of public toilets

Safety, cleanliness, an attractive appearance, and available seating are not top priorities (between 1 and 3, Table 7G). However, interviewees gave negative perceptions about these issues. A local female resident stressed the derelict retail shops along the streets and the presence of a group of local teenagers as negative factors in terms of safety (interview with a female local resident, 2009). Facilities such as public toilets and baby changing facilities were important to families and women with children. Friendly traders with diverse ethnic backgrounds were not associated with fear of crime, but pickpockets were an issue (interview with two elderly women, 2009).

### Demand for official actions

Although users said that safety, cleanliness, an attractive appearance and available seating are not influential, the recent changes to the marketplace encouraged sitting or standing, and shopping for longer, among office workers and women. A male office worker said, 'I stay longer. It (Petticoat Lane) was improved... I have seen a number of food vans at Goulston Street, newly designed lighting and rubbish reduced.' Another male office worker said, 'I'm not coming for shopping here. I think guarantee of change or refunding would be good for customers here, but I don't need them. I want rubbish collection at Goulston Street more (interview with male office worker, 2009)'. Any change is a sign of improvement. A local female resident said with delight, 'I've used this market for tens of years, and it is still thriving on Sunday. It would recover from decline because of the improvement (interview with a female local resident, 2009)'.

**Table 7I. Reasons for coming to Petticoat Lane, according to the types of traders**



Some market traders had worked in Petticoat Lane to earn a living for fifteen to twenty years. They were permanent stallholders whose economic motives stress profitability, and low stall fees and charges (Table 7I). The products such as shoes, clothes, bags and African textiles are provided at a low price by market traders and retailers around the market. Retailers and shopkeepers along the streets considered themselves to be part of a community because they both run stalls in the market and share the customers.

### **Decline of the weekday and the Sunday market**

Traders believe that both the weekday and Sunday markets are in decline. As long-term members of the community and permanent stall holders, street traders have good relationships with each other. In particular, traders recall their lives in the market with their families and other traders. A clothes trader said that the 'good time is in the past and the market is in decline,' and added 'the only reason we come to Wentworth Street (on weekdays) is we can make a good living on Sunday, particularly in summer' (interview with a clothes trader, 2009).

Street traders decide on the actions needed for the market management by themselves. Street traders arrange opening times and days. As the traders have changed, street trading in Petticoat Lane is no longer related to religious practice, which was influential in the past. The trading is affected by times of operation of other street markets in the nearby areas that also sell clothes. Because of the decrease in customers, the traders work in multiple street markets. Some work on Saturdays at other street markets such as Roman Road, moving their stalls to Middlesex Street on Sundays when it is a good location for business. In lieu, they do not work on Mondays (interview with a clothes trader, 2009). Food traders also come for the low stall

fees and charges, and open around weekday lunchtimes because their main customers are office workers and they need days off to prepare food (interview with a food trader, 2009).

### **Litter, lack of parking space, cash points and public toilets**

Cheap parking spaces to allow customers easy access, facilities such as public toilets, and lower parking fees for street traders' vehicles, were perceived as problems. Although there is a public toilet in Wentworth Street, it has been broken and abandoned by the local authority. Local cafés frequently allowed traders and customers to use their toilets. However, tension arose over maintenance of the café toilets due to heavy use (interview with a clothes trader, 2009).

Despite the infamous pickpockets of the past, this was less of a problem. 'There were many pickpockets years ago, but I haven't experienced for a while'. The graffiti on the walls especially of the abandoned shops was believed to be the work of local teenagers (interview with a clothes trader, 2009). Shopkeepers clean the street in front of their retail units.

### **Demand for action to support traders' economic needs and to address the Congestion Charge**

Traders are engaged in encounters with other traders or customers, and develop the social activity of the market. They informally organise a social network with retailers based on face-to-face relationships. While carrying out their functional activities, and around closing time, traders encounter each other and chat. They help each other by looking after products and their stalls if they need to leave for a short time, and discuss their needs. The informal network such as the traders' association represents traders' needs and rights, and they are supposed to meet the manager regularly. However, no feedback is given if they report problems (interview with a trader, 2009).

The traders pleaded that the most urgently needed actions are anything to attract more customers especially marketing in addition to the provision of public toilets, parking space for their vehicles, and attention to market safety. They also stressed maintaining the low fees and charges but were worried they would need to be increased (Table 7I). The Congestion Charge Zone was addressed as a major obstacle to access and traders requested an exemption from the Congestion Charge.

Traders wanted Market Services staff to take action to address their economic and functional needs, but communication was difficult because the times of management meetings did not fit well with the market's weekday opening times. 'They [the officers] are average. They are

alright. We don't have many problems in management but we got big thing like toilets or car park. In terms of management, they give us some [information or newsletter], but nothing. They didn't tell us any... We don't mind they charge 20 pence for toilets. We can pay... They didn't ask traders. We are just using café toilet because we are regular customers. We buy food and we can use toilet' (interview with a trader, 2009). A male clothes trader added, 'they [Market Services staff] have done that [banners on the street lights] a year ago. There lights go on Christmas time... spent a lot of money for two, three weeks' deal, isn't there?' Retailers also demanded a communication channel with the market's management (interview with a retailer, 2009).

### 7.5.3 Perceptions from the local authority

The Manager's priorities are that public space should be available to all, alongside economic viability, cultural diversity, convenience and physical and visual qualities as issues.

#### **Economic viability for low-income people in the local area**

The economic benefit of the market was regarded as arising from

'employment for local residents as traders or assistants in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets especially for low-income people in multi-ethnicity and visitors from across the borough, as one fourth of traders live in the borough' (interview with a manager, 2009).

However, the changing daily number of traders was considered a sign of 'decline'. The most urgent problem was identified as 'physical, visual and social access', with 'no connection between transport infrastructure and the local community, visibility of the market from main roads blocked by housing estates around the market, and other better afield by the congestion Charge'.

#### **Public space available to all and cultural, multi-ethnic diversity**

The manager perceived Petticoat Lane as a public good where 'people can come and sell freely', and the role of management is only 'to create a space where they can actually exhibit their wares' (interview with a manager, 2009). Regarding gentrification, the range and types of products such as men's and women's clothes, accessories, bags and shoes have been controlled, but the manager has no plan for control of quality. It 'is their [the traders'] job to get the foot fall and the customers to the market and retain them'. The manager confirmed that 'although we have tourists as a target customer, the gentrification that French markets

and the farmers' markets... they are not relevant that is to the circumstances of most of the East enders that live in the East End of London' (interview with a manager, 2009).

The socio-cultural benefit for people of different ethnic backgrounds was also recognised by reflecting a local policy for the market, 'a one Tower Hamlets concept':

'Tower Hamlets has every single possible ethnic origin. It is the one place that everyone can get together and don't actually have to; they don't have to engage with each other, but they see each other and they can engage and therefore it is not a false situation and I think that's very productive for community harmony' (interview with a manager, 2009).

In Petticoat Lane, the manager also acknowledged a few conflicts among traders such as racism based on different cultural customs and languages, but they were negotiated by traders (interview with a manager, 2009).

#### **Functional needs arising from the market's physical and visual qualities**

The strategy for the market on the basis of the local authority's vision includes traders' perceptions presented in the meetings and consultation with traders and their representatives. The manager insisted that the exclusion of Petticoat Lane from the Congestion Charge zone was essential (interview with a manager, 2009). Traders' needs led to a plan to subsidise cafés for traders' use of their toilets (2), and to allocate traders' parking spaces on Goulston Street (3) and to provide a cash machine. In addition, the local authority allows traders' display signs beyond the pitches in Petticoat Lane since the number of traders has decreased below the number of available pitches. The relocation of abandoned stalls and promotion of casual traders on Saturday were planned in order to remedy the image of decline. Regarding stall allocation on Sundays, the schedules are to be changed so that no empty stalls are obvious (interview with a manager, 2009). Noise was recognised as an issue to be negotiated with local residents, shopkeepers and other traders. The manager stressed physical and visual quality and their relationship to comfort, on the basis of public perception, especially women's, for example, installing banners along the streets.

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<sup>2</sup> This has not happened and they charge for use in 2011.

<sup>3</sup> A regulation was issued in 2010, allocating traders' parking according to the opening days and times of the market.



## **Strategic plans for a tourist attraction, and lack of resource and investments**

Marketing and publicity have been initiated through the involvement of traders and retailers.

‘We recognise that we have got to gear up our publicity and marketing. Marketing to me means identifying who the customers are and what they want to buy and getting them; publicity means telling everybody that we’ve got what you want to buy. That’s my understanding of it. And we need to do those two pieces of work. We need to involve the traders, and we need to involve the shops’ (interview with a manager, 2009).

As well as engaging traders, the manager had started co-working with the London Benchmarking Group, the London Street Markets group and the Association of London Markets with a focus on economic viability and marketing.

Petticoat Lane as a Sunday market was economically important because it brings a third of the income that the local authority uses to manage all street markets in the borough. According to policy at the local level, a strategy for change to the Sunday market was being planned with a vision as ‘a tourist attraction’ (Interview with a manager, 2009). An ‘Art and Cultural Trail’ was to be developed, taking in places of interest in and around Aldgate such as Old Truman’s Brewery and the Rich Mix Arts Centre, via Brick Lane, Petticoat Lane and Spitalfields Market (Tower Hamlets, 2007c).

On the basis of the idea that Petticoat Lane should be a safe and clean space free of crime and anti-social behaviour for local shopping, a partnership for market management was planned across departments in the local authority (interview with a manager, 2009). Since physical obstruction and negative environmental or visual impacts were recognised in street markets in the borough, market officers needed to work closely with neighbourhood teams for safety (Tower Hamlets, 2007b). The LET (Local Environmental Team) deals with the problem of litter, dropping of waste, and the introduction of waste from shops and other places in the market. Tower Hamlets Enforcement Officers (THEOs) deter the pirate DVD sellers, the three-card tricksters and the criminals (interview with a manager, 2009).

However, lack of investment and resources in public services made it difficult to raise standards of monitoring, communication and maintenance (interview with a manager, 2009). In fact, the lack of investment has increased fees and charges which are the only source for investment in the area. According to the minutes of the local authority committee meetings, fees and charges in Petticoat Lane have increased since 2004 (Tower Hamlets, 2004; 2005;

2006; 2009; 2010). Although the Sunday market has experienced no change since 2008, a 25% increase has been applied to Petticoat Lane's weekday market in Wentworth Street.

## 7.6 Conclusions

The experience of Petticoat Lane can be summarised by reviewing the numerous interlocking activities that have several attributes. The activities of walking, shopping and sightseeing are experienced through public spaces. Shopping is linked to economic performance, sightseeing to the cultural value, whilst walking is related closely to shopping and sightseeing.

The social attribute, encompassing talking, observing, listening, gathering and children playing, relates to static activities, especially standing and sitting. People who use the market for social activities include office workers, university students, women, families, elderly people and tourists. In terms of numbers, more people visit the market at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays. Shopping takes place in the street, especially at weekday lunchtimes and Sundays in the summer, while standing and sitting takes place mainly at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays. Activities such as events and guided tours are included in the social experience of the market.

Actions relating to improving legibility and routine maintenance relate to the management function. Management actions such as planning guided tours, events, traders' advertising, conservation of historic buildings and markets, signage, and maintenance are managed informally by formally by the local authority. At the local level, traders, café and shop owners, and local government and council departments, are engaged in market management activities. Traders such as stall holders and retailers who rely on the market to make a living are immediate management actors who are often first to perceive and respond to the opportunities and tensions of changes in shopping and trading. These responses can be as simple as adjusting times of operation, setting up seating and covered areas for weather protection, advertising traders' products, and operating movable informal trading facilities and signs. However, the responses also include strategic decisions such as tailoring the range of products and pricing to reflect a shift towards casual trade, and establishing a community of multi-ethnic traders.

The timings of maintenance offered by the local authority demonstrate ineffective coordination of Petticoat Lane's legitimate market use and needs. For example, cleaning and

policing times on weekdays and the road works and repair schedule do not take into account the opening times of the market, while damaged footways and abandoned public toilets are evidence of poor maintenance.

Associated with use and management, are local shops, cafés, restaurants on the street and historic buildings around the market as land uses. Together with the layout of market stalls and the location of food vans, informal and formal seats, location of gathering areas, and covered street areas against poor weather conditions, these comprise the market's physical aspects. Physicality is linked with opportunities for informal and formal use. Business opening hours and free use of the street need to correspond to market use. However, branded cafés, restaurants and shops located around the market are closed on Sundays. Increased sitting is associated with outdoor café seats and informal seats on the street, especially at weekday lunchtimes and on Sundays in the summer. Although the Sunday market is bigger and more people come, seating relies on informal ones such as empty stalls, street equipment or street edges. Food stalls provide no seats.

The social experience of the marketplace is produced through sauntering when the user derives positive perceptions related to the market experience: for example, the colours, smells and sounds from clothes and food, and the market atmosphere created by friendly traders from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Market users come to the market to satisfy their diverse needs addressed through the purchase of clothes, lunch, refreshment and sightseeing. Petticoat Lane's low prices, friendly traders, and history as an old market are opportunities, especially for low-income people according to users' perceptions. Office workers come to the market at weekday lunchtimes for other reasons such as food or refreshment. They come along Bell Lane and Middlesex Street, whereas the main gateway is located in Commercial Street. Office workers actively engage in standing and sitting on formal seats such as outdoor café seats, and informal seats. They share the space with local residents from council housing and regular visitors, mostly, families, women (especially African women) and elderly people of multiple ethnicities whose primary purpose in visiting is for the purchase of clothes at low prices; whereas on Sundays the space is primarily occupied by tourists visiting for the purpose of consumption.

However, users' negative perceptions indicate undesirable associations with the market such as the low quality and lack of interest in its products. Such perceptions restrict not only affluent people and those living and working in newly developed offices and housing, but also low-income people from using the market. A limited amount of trading takes place on certain

weekdays. Litter, fear of crime such as pickpockets, and indicators of a derelict environment such as graffiti and abandoned retail units are also problems for regular users, who are mainly low-income people. Furthermore, conflict can also arise from public policies at the higher level, such as the Congestion Charge Zone. Market users demand action in response to all of these problems, and consider any management practices or intervention as an improvement.

Managers' perceptions are different from those of users. Managers are aware of the public good imposed by public space policies and the need for markets to be available to all people in the local community. Management is motivated by the benefits that markets provide for low-income people in particular, in terms of providing employment and fostering multi-ethnic relations. Gentrification is considered a threat, and positive aspects such as office workers' encounters and active engagement is not identified. In terms of perceptions of quality, levels of comfort, and attention to the physical and visual aspects of the market are considered important and the local authority oversees informal uses in the area.

Through public space and market management policies, the local authority determines actions designed to promote the economic vitality of the Sunday market, enhance the physical elements, and carry out effective maintenance in a way that coordinates and negotiates the uses, needs and rights of the market's stakeholders such as market traders and local residents in a strategic partnership. However, the splitting of responsibilities across council departments combined with a lack of investment and resources does not allow opportunities to be addressed, and fails to address tensions using a strategic approach. Accordingly, many management actions appear primarily guided by a vision of the market as a tourist attraction which is set by policies at the London level.



chapter

# 8

CASE STUDY- Borough Market



## 8 Case study of Borough Market, a retail food market

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### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter contains four sections to present the results of the fieldwork investigation relating to Borough Market. The first three sections are findings from the observational studies. The first section looks at patterns of activities. The second examines the physicality in and around the market, such as land uses, layout of market stalls in relation to accessibility, provision of informal and formal seating, and location of gathering areas related to weather protection. The number of people who visit or sit in the marketplace reflects the capacity of the setting, and potential encounter rates between people. The third section examines official and unofficial management in and around the market in terms of the application of regulations, management actions, and the maintenance regime. The final section examines the relationship between use, management and physicality from the perceptions held by users of the market, and by the Borough Market Trust and the Business Improvement District (BID) as key professional management actors. The management of the market by the community organisation and the BID is complementary and uses a partnership approach and strategic thinking to address the on-going tensions created by the activities taking place in the local market space.

### 8.2 Use of the retail food market in the covered market and surrounding areas

This section analyses patterns of activities in the retail food market of Borough Market. The activities include walking, shopping, and sightseeing, and extend to standing and sitting in the market place. The patterns are explained in terms of rapidity of movement, duration of time spent in the marketplace, and frequency in visiting specific locations. Shopping is the main economic activity, and the other activities are social activities. User groups include office workers, women, families, young and elderly people, and tourists. Standing and sitting are examined along with the social activities, and are especially frequent at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays.

### **Walking, shopping and sightseeing in the market spaces**

Walking takes place at all times regardless of the opening or closing times in and around the covered market. Walking takes place on the street pavements or in the middle of the passageways in the market. When people are walking, they are also engaged easily in shopping. Some people do not enter the marketplace on weekdays, and only go there at Saturday lunchtimes (Figure 8-2 and 8-3).

Shopping in Borough Market is undertaken with a slow movement compared with purposeful walking (Figure 8-1), and takes place in the passageways between the retail units and the stalls, and in the street. Figure 8-1 reveals that the speed of walking when shopping is much slower not only in the covered market area but also in the street; for example, it is 2.5 times slower in the passageways in the event hall which is the main covered area of the market. Furthermore, people with pushchairs, taking photos, queuing around stalls and retail units, cause congestion in the marketplace.

### **Products such as food and food ingredients**

Shopping includes purchasing, browsing, and queuing (Figures 8-2 and 8-3), and easily extends to standing or sitting, which suggests that the duration of stay in the market is prolonged; for example, office workers visit pubs, cafés, and food or flower retail units along the streets as well as the stalls and retail units in the market; women and families buy produce and food but do not stay in the marketplace. People stand at the street corners, around buildings and stalls, and sit on street kerbs, or in the outdoor café seats. Users generally stay in the covered market for 10 to 20 minutes, come out of it and then go back into the market, although some examples show that the durations are shorter, less than 10 minutes, due to congestion on Saturdays.

Figures 8-4, 8-5, 8-6 and 8-7 reveal that shopping takes place in the covered market all days regardless of opening or closing days except Sundays. The retail units along the streets also accommodate shopping regardless of market opening or closing days, especially around weekday lunchtimes. Figures 8-4 and 8-5 show that shoppers, vehicular traffic, and passers-by share the street. People are walking in the middle of the road at any time, especially in summer in Stoney Street (Space E, Figure 8-6). Walking is associated only with the opening times of the market in the adjacent parking lot (Space C, Figure 8-4). Furthermore, sightseeing also takes place in Borough Market. People are engaged in taking photos of the stalls, signs, products, historic buildings, and the traders, regardless of opening or closing days (Figure 8-3).

Figure 8-1. | Rapidity of walking in Borough Market

Rapidity of shopping within the covered market area (in the right image) is a slower movement than walking (in the far right image).



Rapidity on Saturday (in the right below image) is a xxxxxxxxxxxx-lower movement in the crowded area than weekdays (in the right image).



Source: author's own data collected from observation

Figure 8-2. | Who is walking and where they stop in Borough Market on weekdays  
(Thursday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

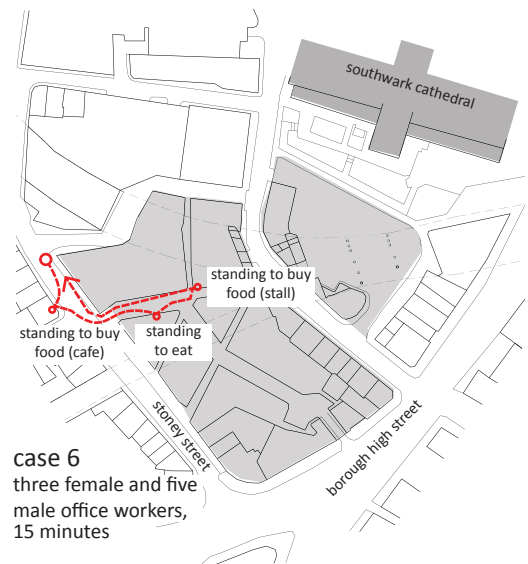
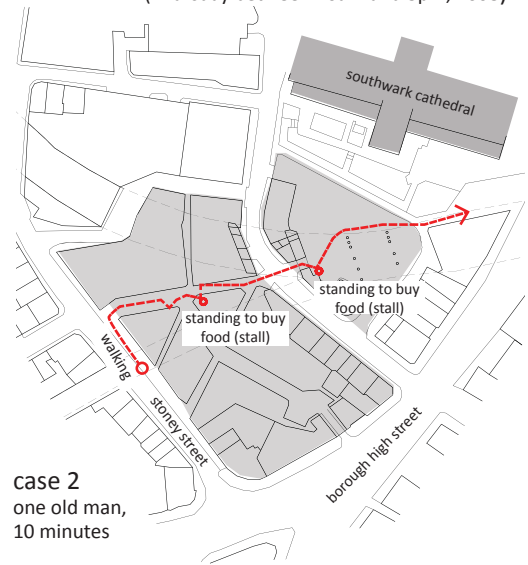
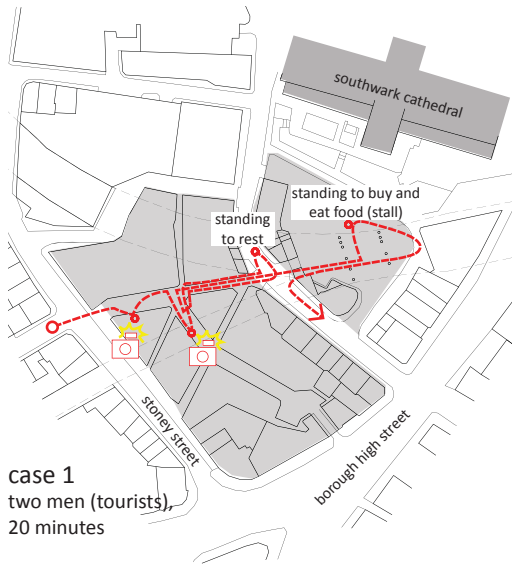


Figure 8-2. | Who is walking and where they stop in Borough Market on weekdays (continued)

(Thursday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

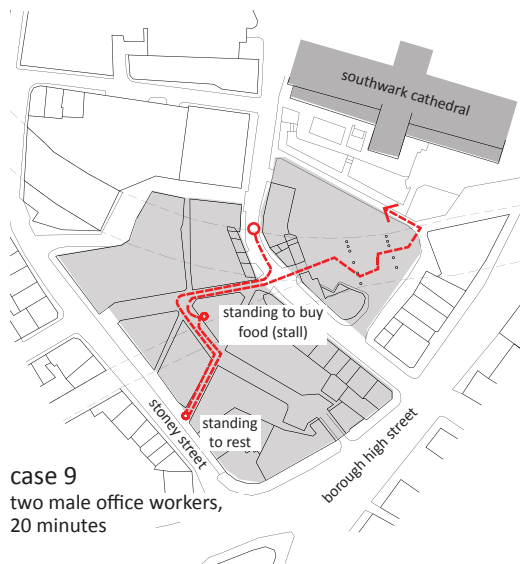
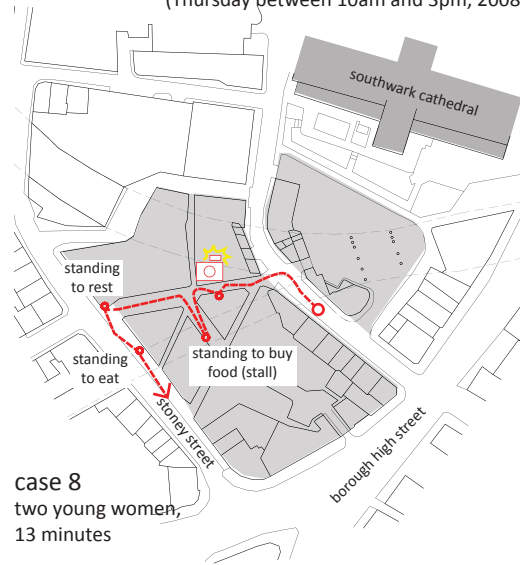
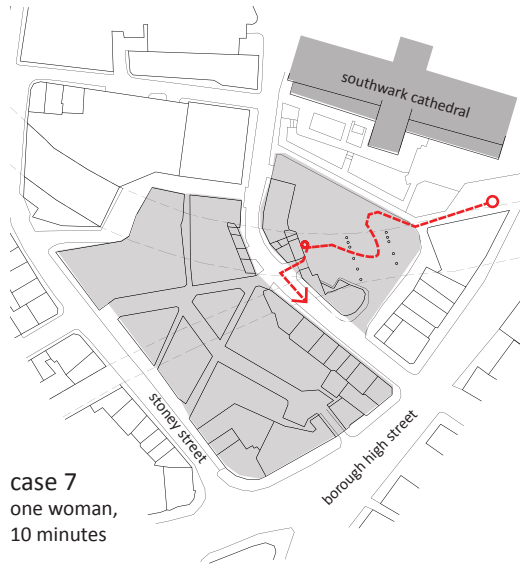


Figure 8-3. | Who is walking and where they stop in Borough Market on Saturdays  
(Saturday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

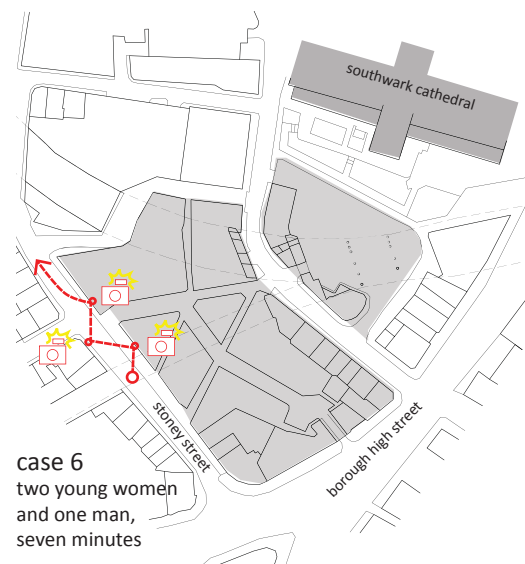
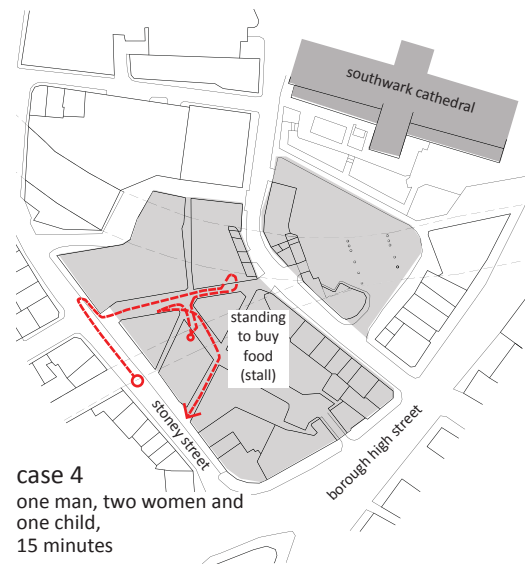
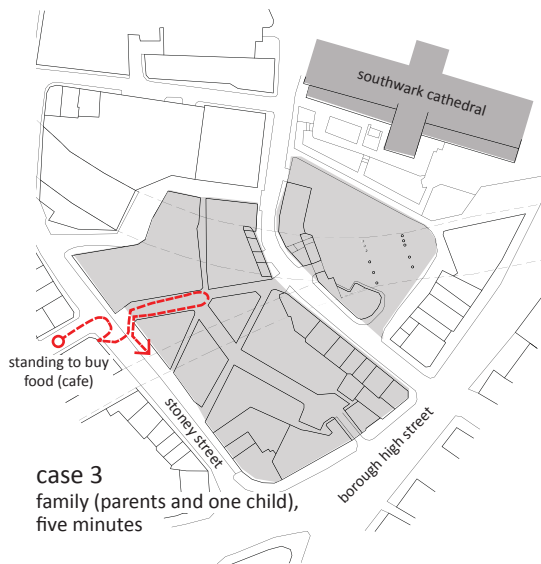
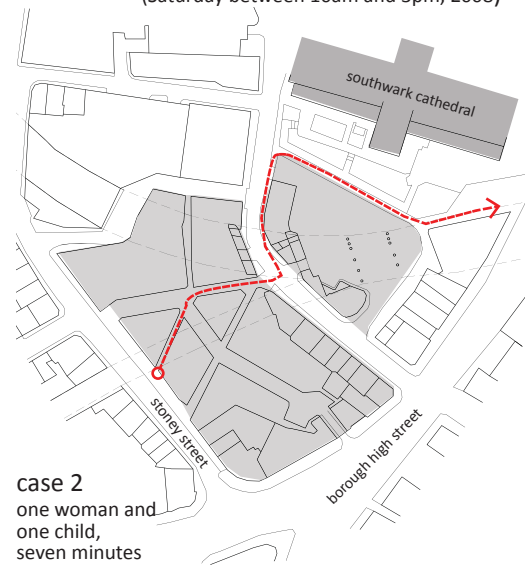
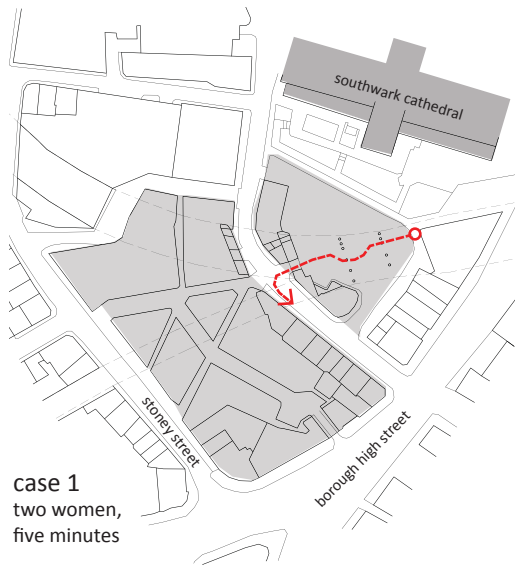




Figure 8-3. | Who is walking and where they stop in Borough Market on Saturdays (continued)  
(Saturday between 10am and 3pm, 2008)

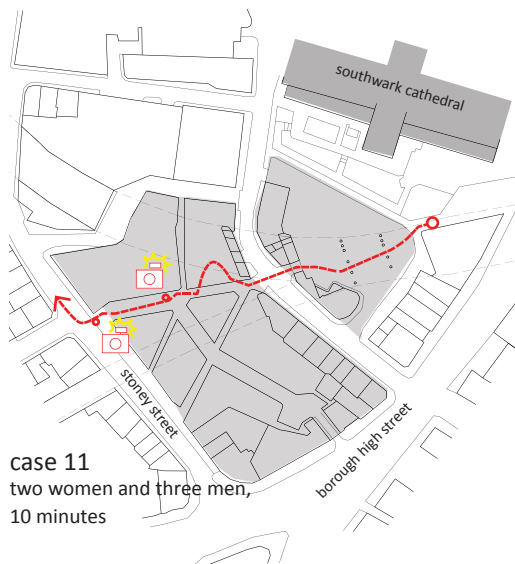
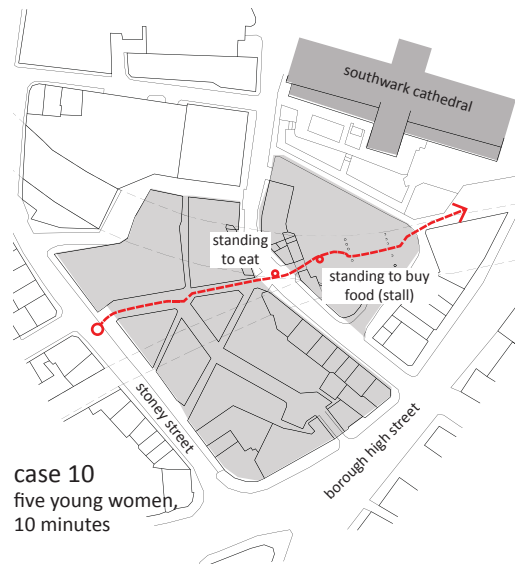
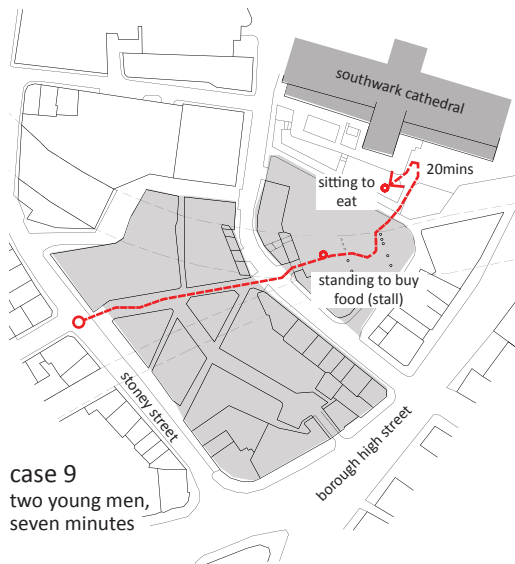
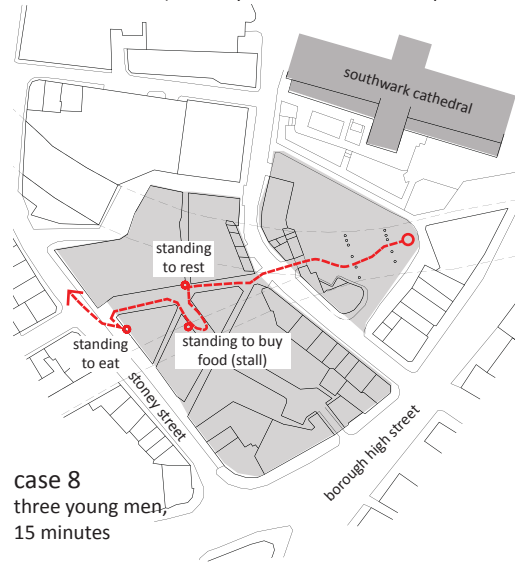
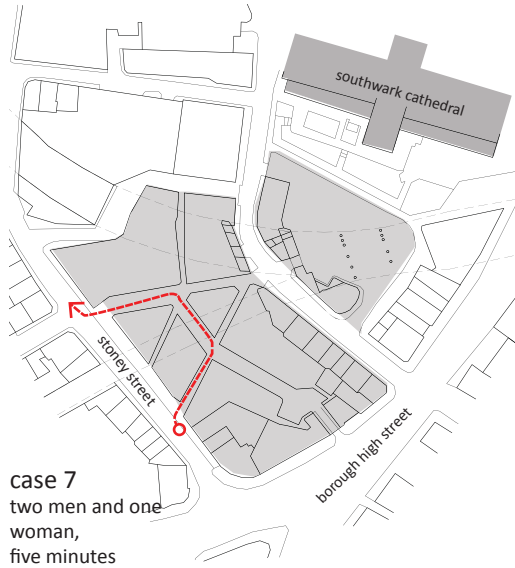


Figure 8-4. | How vital Borough Market is in winter and summer (covered outdoor market)

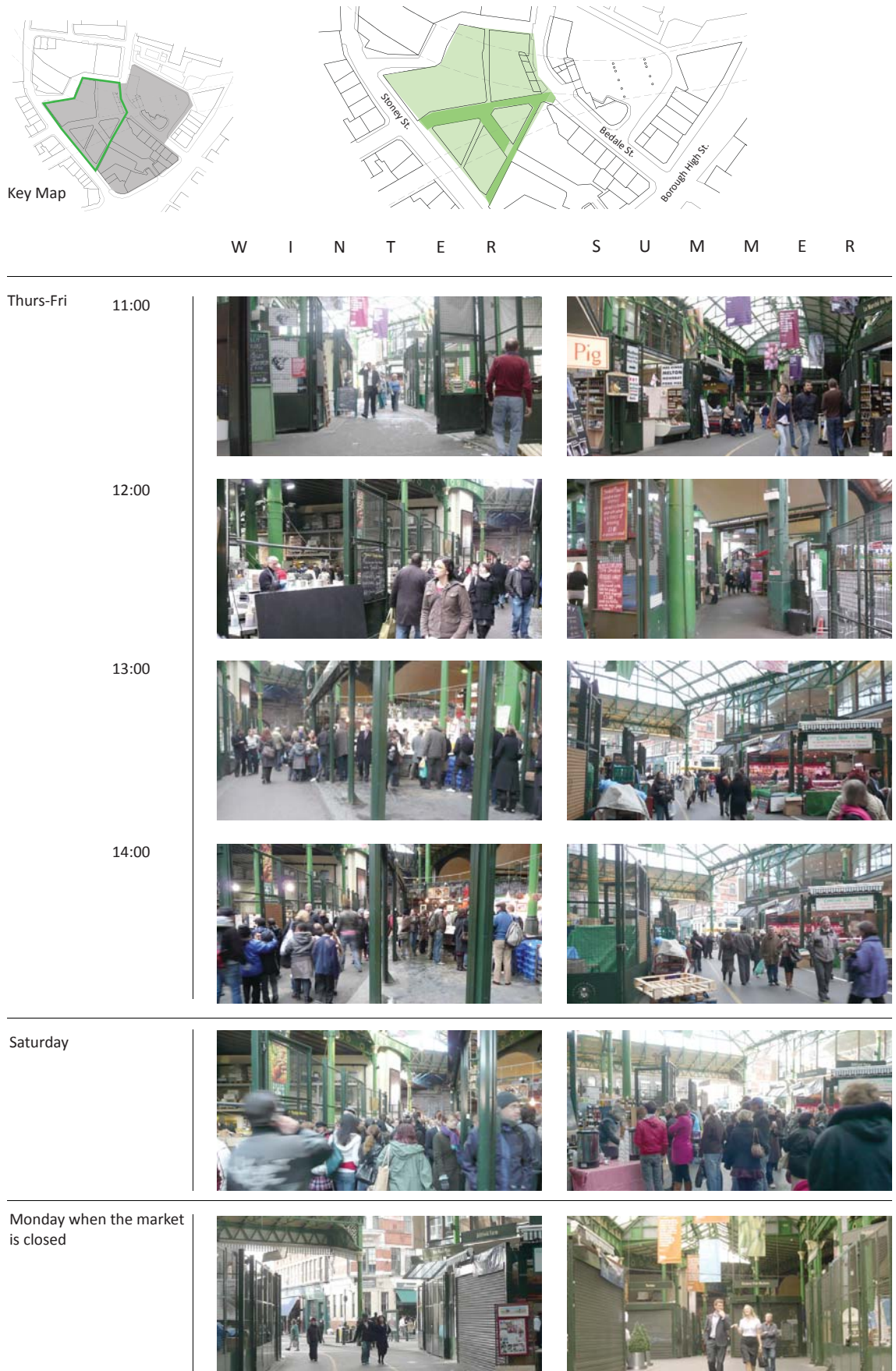




Figure 8-5. | How vital Borough Market is in winter and summer (parking lot)











Friday	11:00		
	12:00		
	13:00		
	14:00		
Saturday			
Monday when the market is closed			

Figure 8-6. | How vital Borough Market is in winter and summer (Bedale Street)

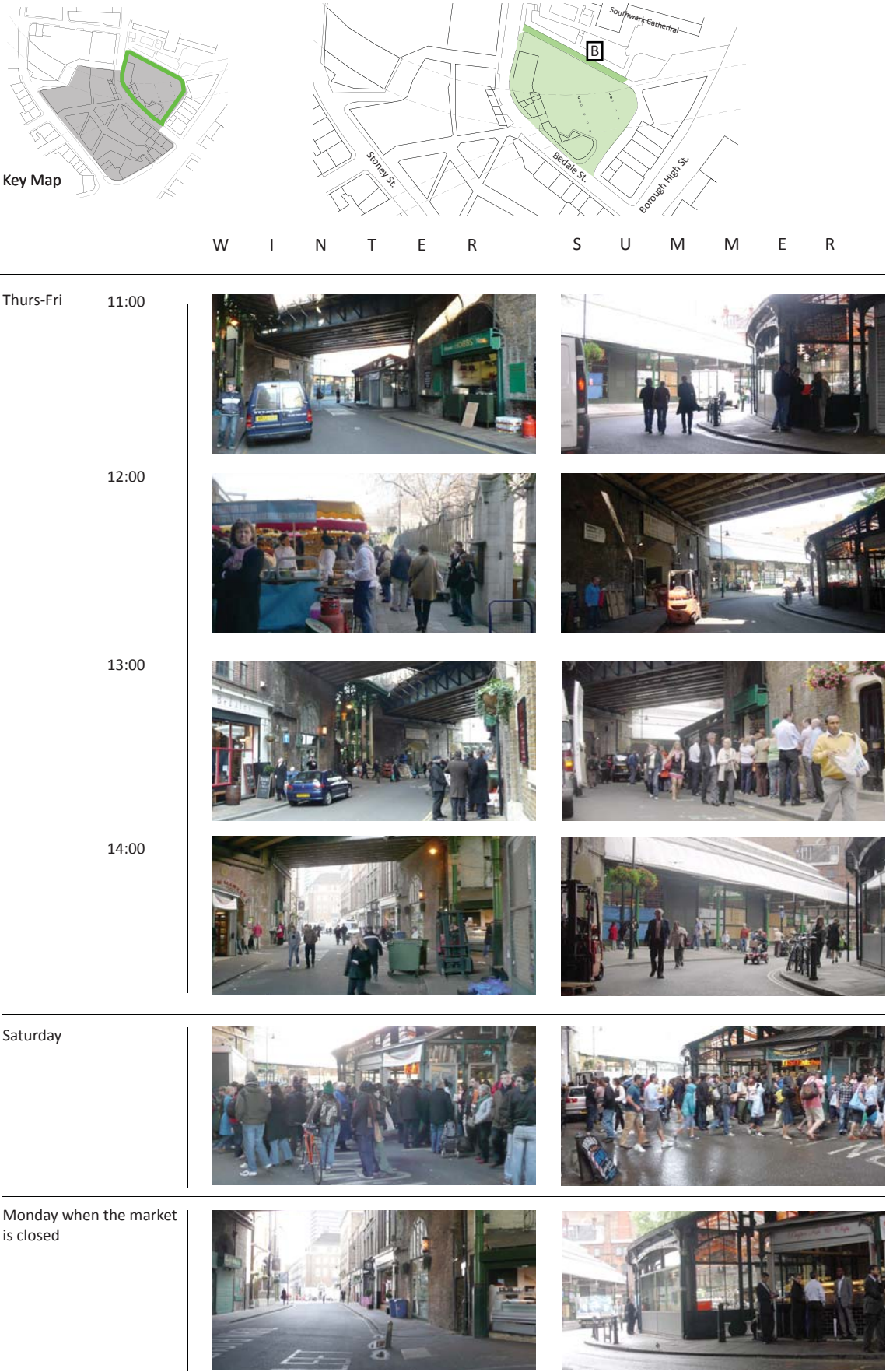
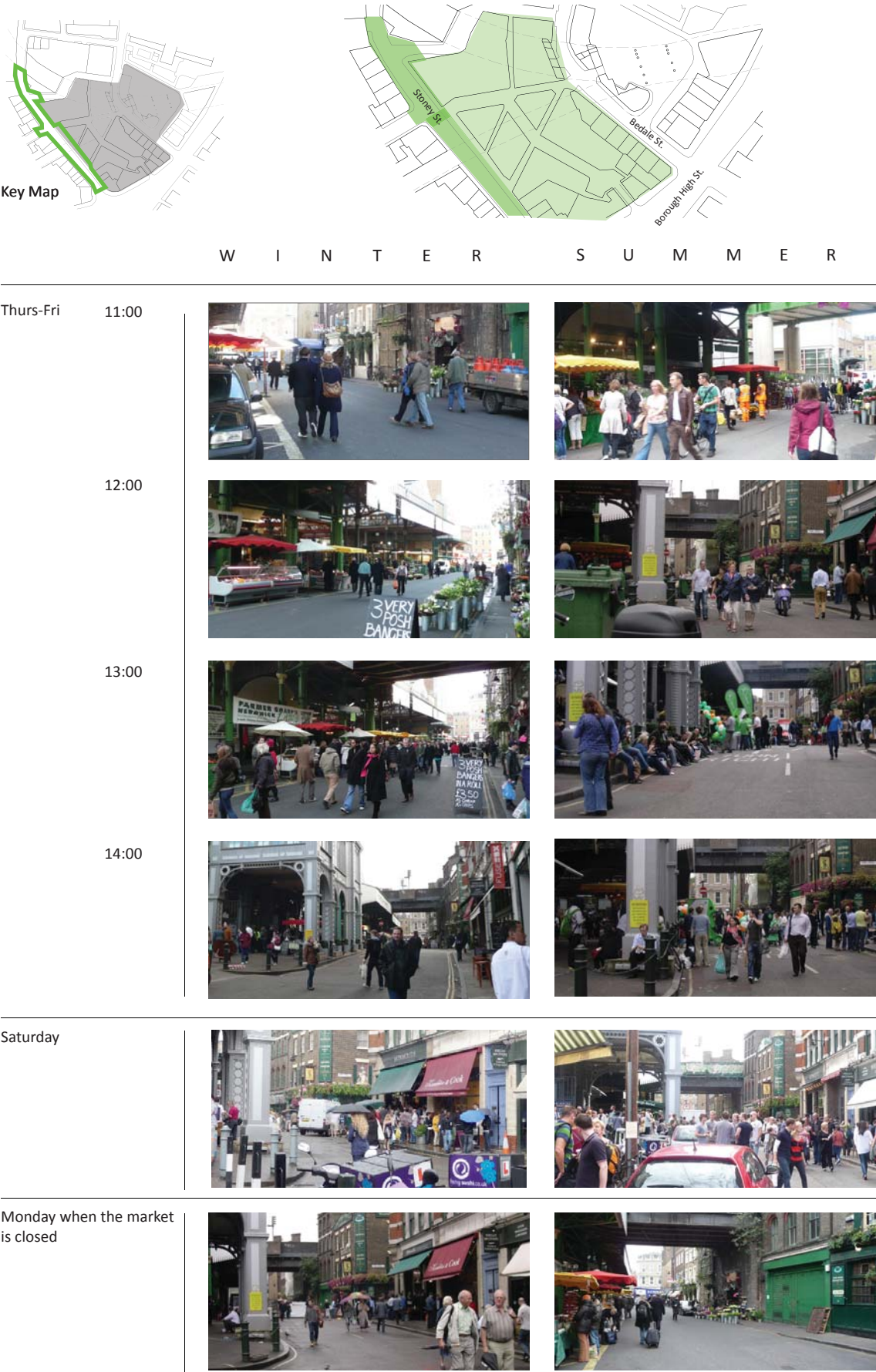




Figure 8-7. | How vital Borough Market is in winter and summer (Stoney Street)



## **Standing and sitting in the public spaces**

Standing is a frequent activity, taking place mainly on opening days regardless of the season, although it also takes place around the market on days when the market is officially closed. Browsing, queuing, resting, eating, waiting for friends or family, and taking photos, are undertaken while standing and sitting. Social activities such as observing, listening, taking photos, watching events, talking between traders and customers, traders' or customers' gathering in the marketplace, and children playing, also take place. Standing and sitting happens most frequently at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays.

## **Products, Informal or formal outdoor seats, guided walking tours, school trips, advertising, busking, filming, community events and festivals**

Factors that promote market use were identified from observations: products displayed in retail units and stalls, informal or formal outdoor seats, guided walking tours, school trips, busking, filming, community events, festivals and traders' advertising. Weather is a factor affecting market activities. In the case of rain or sunshine, users are standing in the covered market area, and under the coverings of the stalls and the retail units along the street.

## **Space A and B (Covered market, Figures 8-8 and 8-9)**

Standing frequently takes place in the event hall or around the corners of the retail units (A-a). Events, and inviting cooks or traders to advertise seasonal products once a month, attract people to the event hall (A-i). Traders selling Borough Market branded products and community events take place and encourage standing from time to time in the event hall (A-f). School trips take place with young local students visiting the market in the morning from time to time so they can learn about healthy food and eating (B-e). People stand in the passageways in the afternoons while tasting food samples at the stalls where traders are advertising their products (A-h and B-d). Sitting takes place in the seats of cafés during opening times (Wednesdays to Saturdays, A-d). Although some cafés are located separately on a different level, most are visually open and allow people to become involved in observing and listening to the market activities nearby.

## **Space C (Parking lot, Figure 8-10)**

Standing is frequently located in the passageways around stalls (C-a), and in the street alongside the wall of Southwark Cathedral. People also stop around traders advertising their products in the passageways or at the entrance to the market in the afternoons (C-d). Guided



walking tours (C-f) take place from time to time regardless of the market's opening or closing days. Sitting frequently takes place on street kerbs around lunchtimes on Fridays and Saturdays (C-b), and in outdoor café seats during all opening days (C-e). Weather is an influence; on rainy days people can be found standing in the covered market area, under the railway bridge, or under the coverings of the market stalls.

#### **Space D (Bedale Street, Figure 8-11)**

Standing frequently takes place in the street, at the corners of retail units or cafés (D-b), and in the road (D-c), frequently at weekday lunchtimes on Saturdays, and occasionally around ice-cream vans or bicycle taxis (C-f), especially on Fridays and Saturdays in summer. Weather is also a factor. On sunny days, people frequently sit in the outdoor café seats (C-e) and on the street kerbs (C-d), frequently causing congestion on Saturdays; on rainy days, they can be found standing or sitting under the covered area of the market or the railway bridges.

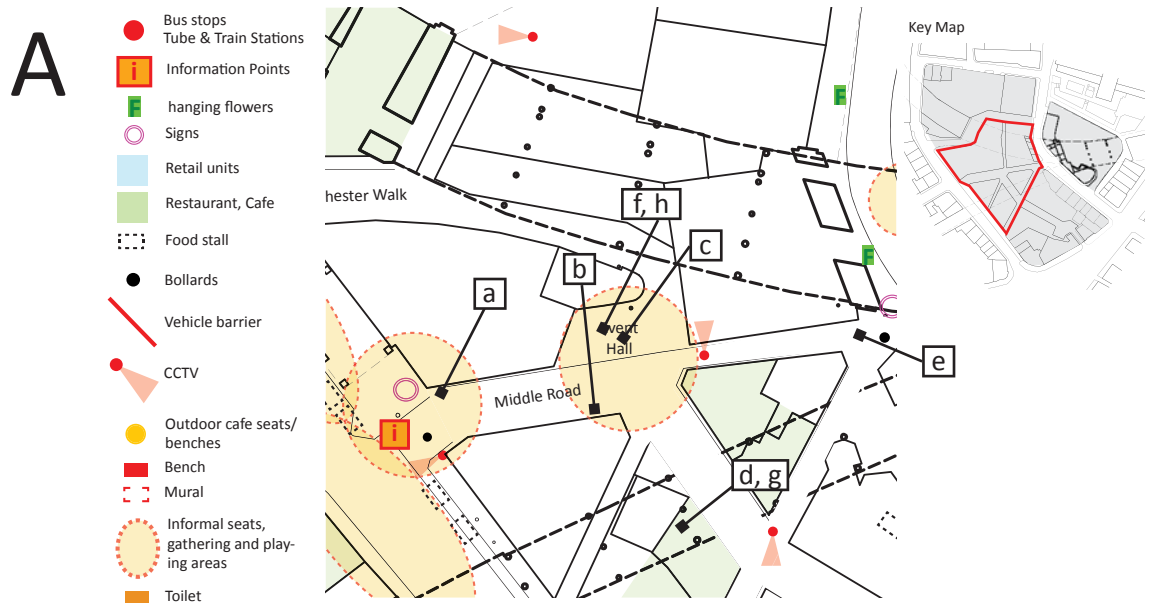
#### **Space E (Stoney Street, Figure 8-12)**

Standing is a frequent activity around the corners of food, flower, fruit and vegetable retail units and stalls (E-a), historic buildings, signs, or bollards along the street, and in the middle of road to take photos of a mural on the railway bridge, from time to time. Standing takes place around dance performances for the Thames Festivals, especially on Fridays and Saturdays in summer. Buskers (E-l), petitioners, and product advertising (E-h), attract people on Thursdays and Fridays. In particular, standing while gathering in groups to chat frequently takes place on the road at Thursday and Friday lunchtimes, and on Saturdays, regardless of the season. Regardless of opening or closing days and the season, people frequently sit on the street kerbs (E-h and E-i), and in the outdoor café seats (E-j). However, weather is a factor. People stand under the covered areas of the covered market, and the coverings of retail units or stalls.

#### **Space F (Courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, Figure 8-13)**

Around this historic building - Southwark Cathedral, standing and sitting in the courtyard are frequent activities, and happen more at lunchtimes on market opening days. Standing for resting, eating and taking photos of the historic features of Southwark Cathedral frequently takes place in the passageways (F-a). Weather is a key factor for sitting to rest, and especially for eating around lunchtimes, taking place on the benches, at tables and chairs, or on the grass (F-d and F-e). Sitting or standing are frequently related to children playing – climbing on and running on the grass and around the sculpture, especially on sunny days (F-e). Community events attract people to stand and watch (F-b).

Figure 8-8. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space A (covered market)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: traders and customers  
 locations: around the retails  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Thurs- Friday after 12.00, and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 locations: corners around the event hall  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Thurs- Friday after 12.00, and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 locations: around the planters  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Thurs-Saturday after 12.00



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
 who: customers  
 locations: indoor cafe seats  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Wed-Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: community and customers  
 locations: at the entrance  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Friday during the opening times

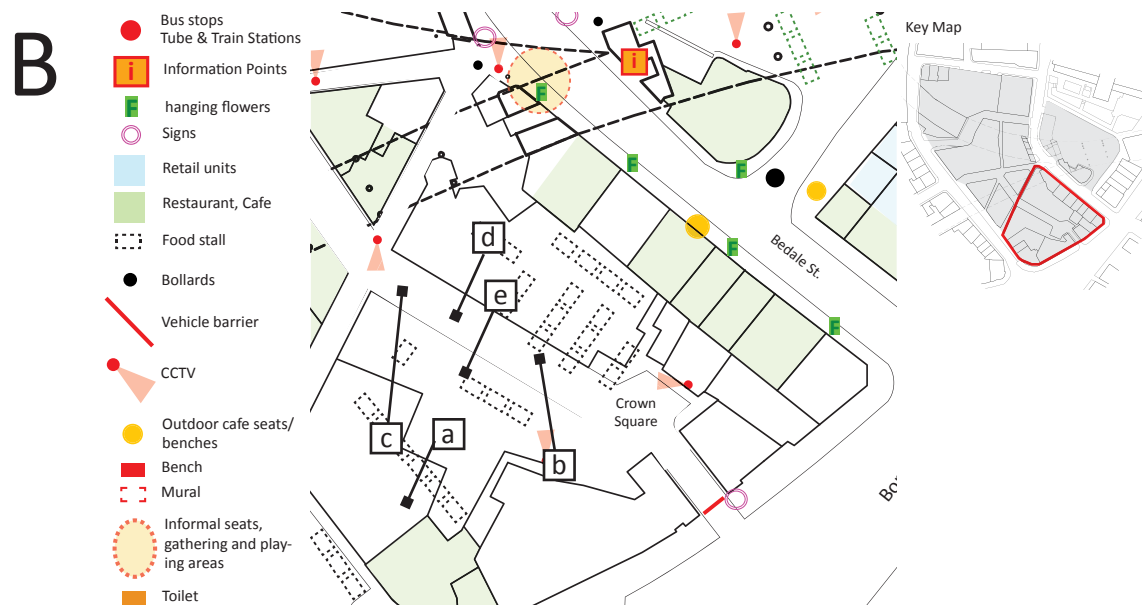


activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
 who: market staff and customers  
 locations: at the event hall  
 frequency: frequently  
 when: Thurs-Saturday during the opening times

Figure 8-8. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space A (covered market) (continued)



Figure 8-9. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space B (covered market)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
locations: at the retail units  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
locations: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs- Friday after 12.00 and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs- Friday after 12.00, and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: advertising traders and customers  
locations: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs-Saturday during the opening times



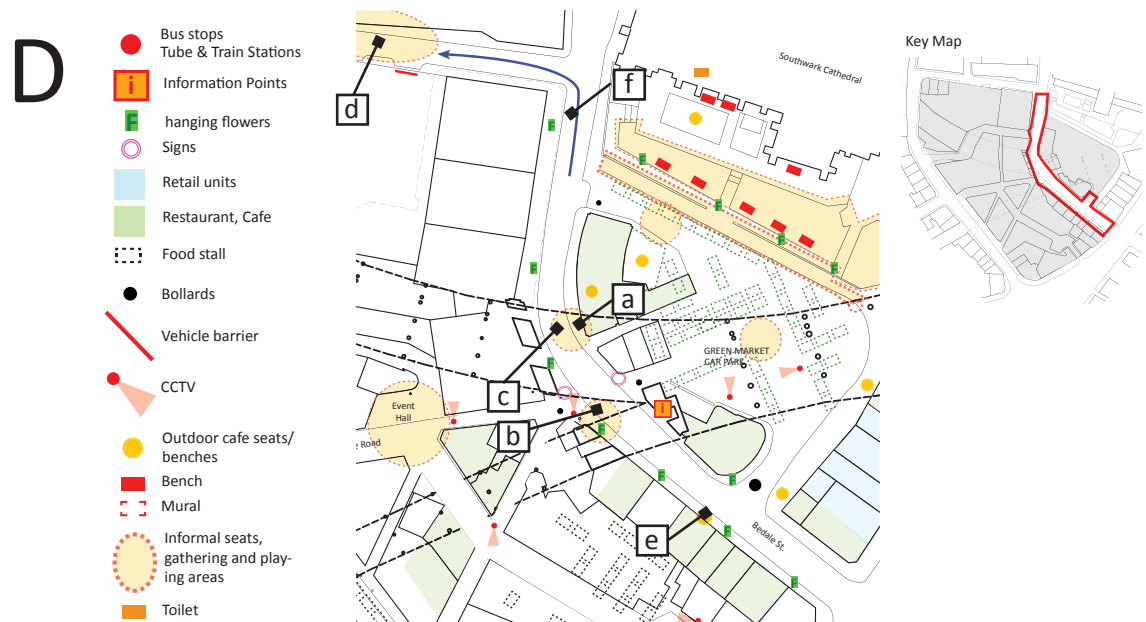
activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: primary school students  
locations: around the stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thursday before lunchtime



Figure 8-10. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space C (parking lot)



Figure 8-11. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space D (Bedale Street)



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: traders and customers  
locations: around the food stalls  
frequency: frequently  
when: Wed- Friday after 12.00, and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Wed- Friday after 12.00, and Saturday during the opening times



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: on the road  
frequency: frequently  
when: Saturday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: edge of street  
frequency: frequently  
when: Fri-Saturday afternoon



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: outdoor cafe seats  
frequency: frequently  
when: Wed-Saturday during their opening times



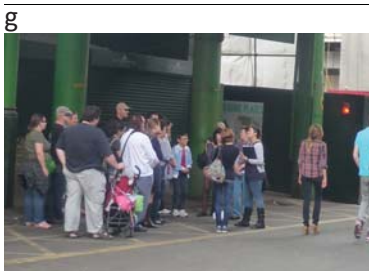
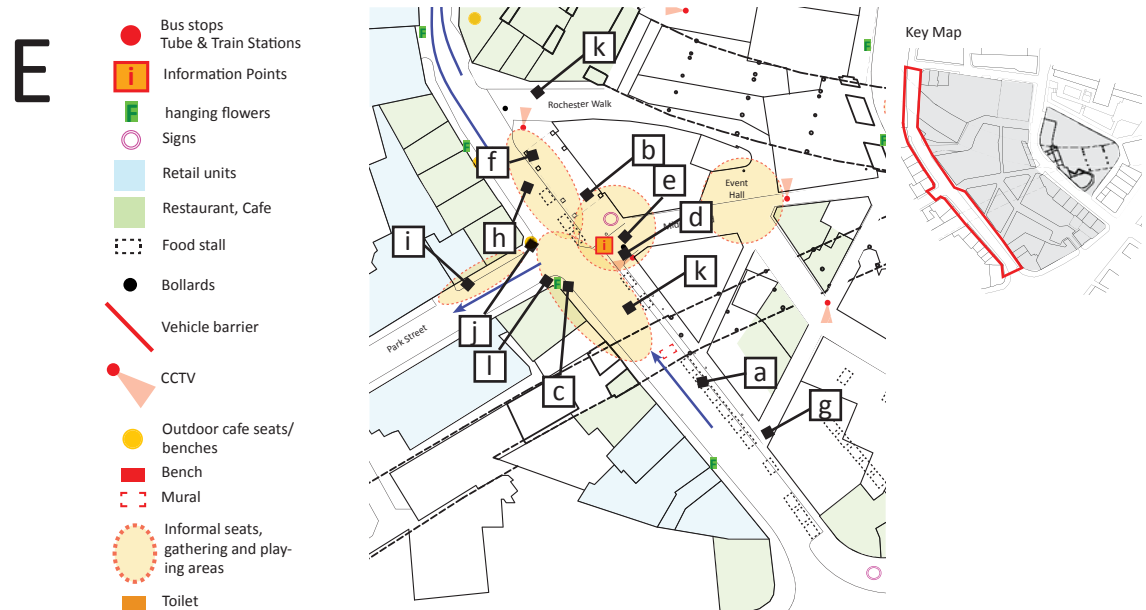
activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: bicycle taxis, ice cream van traders and customers(tourists)  
locations: on the corner  
frequency: rarely  
when: Thursday afternoon



Figure 8-12. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space E (Stoney Street)



Figure 8-12. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space E (Stoney Street) (continued)



activity: standing/watching and listening  
who: guide tour group  
locations: on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs-Fridays



activity: standing/watching, listening and talking  
who: petitioners, advertising traders and customers  
locations: on the road  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs-Saturdays



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: at the edge of street  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Saturdays morning afternoon



activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers  
locations: outdoor seat of cafes  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Saturday during the opening times

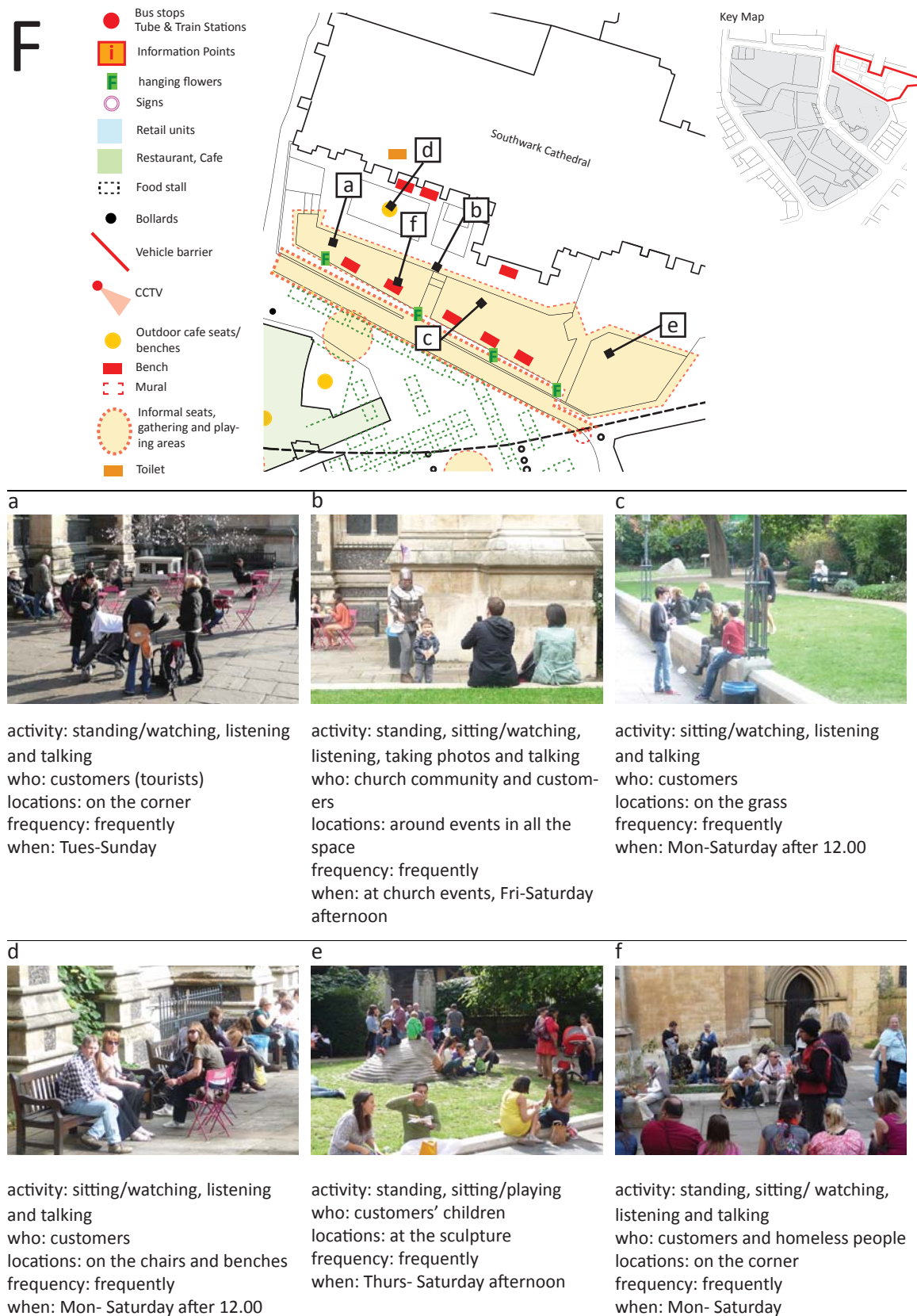


activity: sitting/watching, listening and talking  
who: customers and homeless people  
locations: around the entrance  
frequency: frequently  
when: Mon-Saturday during the opening times



activity: sitting/watching and listening  
who: customers  
locations: around buskers on the corner  
frequency: frequently  
when: Thurs-Friday afternoon

Figure 8-13. | Standing, sitting and social activities in Space F (courtyard of Southwark Cathedral)





## **Office workers, women, families, young and elderly people, tourists, and their activities**

### **Male and female office workers and young local residents (Figure 8-14)**

Active engagement while lingering, standing or sitting in and around Borough Market is found among male and female office workers. Office workers come to the market at lunchtimes on all weekdays, regardless of market opening and closing days, a practice related to the institutional timetables of work. They gather in the streets around restaurants and cafés until late in the evening, especially on Fridays. They use the seats of the cafés or restaurants, and informal seats in and around the market, especially in the sunshine and regardless of the season. They also use the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral for resting while reading books and working with laptops, away from the busy activities of the market.

### **Women, families and elderly and young people (Figure 8-15)**

Users include women, families with children, and elderly and young people, who come to shop or meet friends on market opening days. Women with children sit in the marketplace, but many of them are also found in the cathedral's courtyard around lunchtimes and afterwards, especially on sunny days. They are involved in resting, eating, waiting, and buying produce. They use both the informal and formal seats such as the indoor and outdoor seats of the cafés, the street kerbs, and the bollards in the street, and especially for picnics with their friends and for children playing, they use the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral. Elderly people come to the market alone or with friends or family. Their standing or sitting is limited to the covered market and the outdoor café seats. People from diverse ethnic backgrounds, especially those from western Europe, were identified among customers and traders. Young adults with bicycles come to the market for shopping or sitting in the street.

### **Tourists (Figure 8-16)**

Tourists, identified by their maps and travel bags, include visitors from North America and East Asia. Tourists are observed on Saturdays and public holidays, especially in summer. They are involved in eating, resting, waiting, and taking photos in and around the market, and use diverse seats in the street around pubs and cafés, and resting in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, one of the major tourist attractions along the Thames.

Figure 8-14. | Office workers' use



male and female workers are walking around weekday lunchtimes, buying lunch or food ingredients, standing or sitting around the food stalls

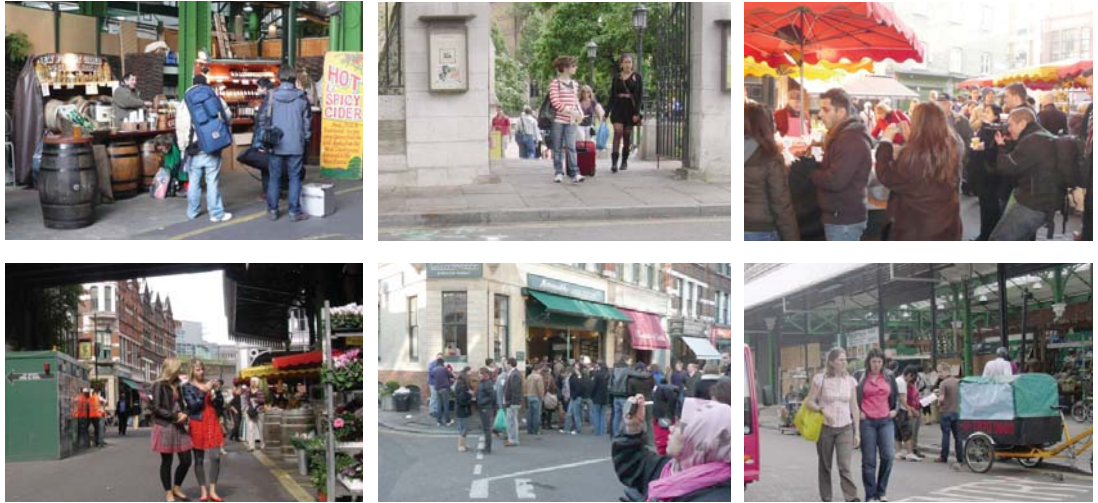
Figure 8-15. | Women, families, elderly and young people's use



Women and families are walking on weekdays and Saturdays, meeting friends or buying food or ingredients, standing or sitting around the food stalls and the courtyard of Southwark cathedral

Elderly people are walking on weekdays and Saturdays, buying food or ingredients, standing or sitting in the cafe seats

Figure 8-16. | Tourists' use



Visitors or tourists are walking especially on Saturdays, taking photos, standing or sitting around the food stalls or the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral



### **Multi-ethnic traders (Figure 8-17)**

Traders in and around the market build social connections and networks, using the official market website, and through regular face-to-face relationships with greetings and sharing of information about job opportunities and the profitability of market trading. The Borough Market Trust provides facilities for traders to rest and have drinks. While traders set up their products, sell and advertise, they encounter each other and talk, especially around opening and closing times. They use street corners near their retail units or stalls for resting.

## **8.3 Physicality in and around the covered market**

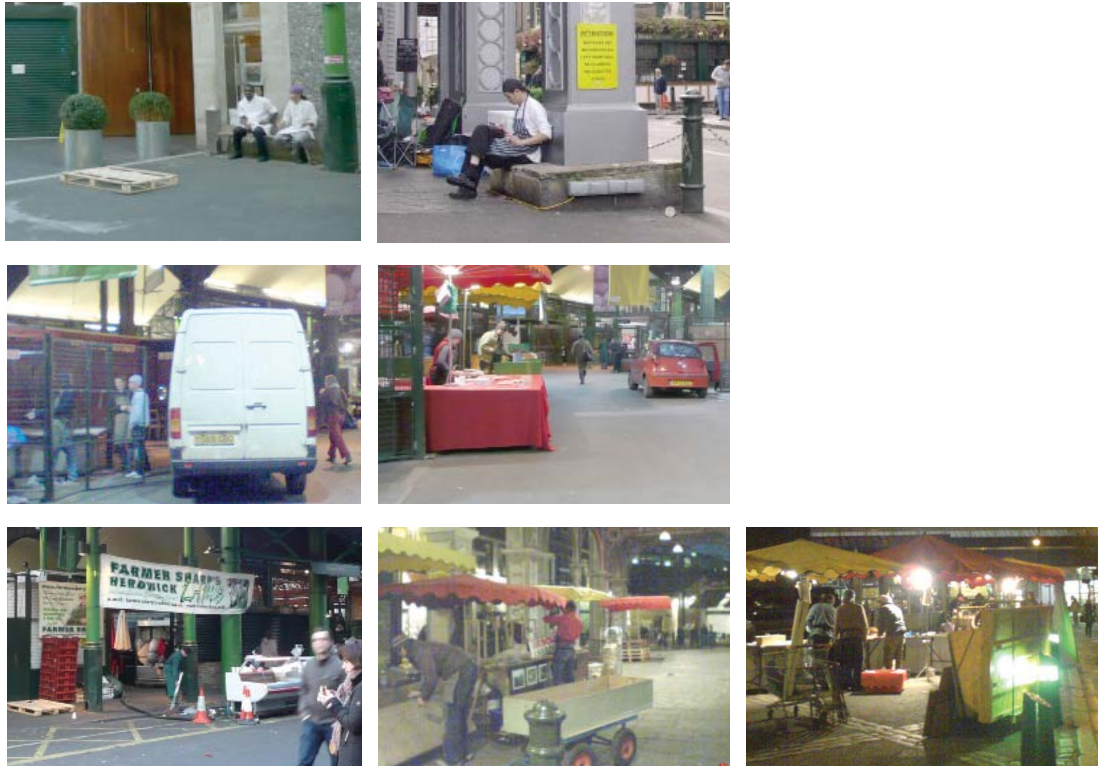
This section examines physicality responding to the functional activities of walking, shopping, sightseeing, standing and sitting in and around Borough Market. There are branded retail units, bars, cafés, restaurants and historic buildings around the market. The layout of retail units and market stalls, the provision of informal and formal seats, the location of gathering and play areas, and open and covered areas for weather protection, are also important. The number of people suggests that free use of street and other open space establishes the capacity of the setting for static and social activities.

### **Trading equipment and facilities (Figure 8-18)**

Trading facilities and infrastructure such as storage, water and electricity supplies, have been provided by the Borough Market Trust since the refurbishment. Storage is located in the covered market and the parking lot to store casual stallholders' equipment. According to pitch size, trays for display are designed or altered on closing days by the management due to the congestion on Saturdays. As well as the official management, products and equipment are also stored in the retail units around the market because the shop owners also run stalls in the market themselves. Designed coverings are provided by the Market Trust, and cooking equipment is brought by casual stall holders. Temporary bollards control access by trading vehicles in the covered market on opening days.

Figure 8-19 illustrates the surrounding land uses consisting of small and large-scale office buildings, retail units and cafés, and residences in Stoney, Park, Bedale and Borough High Streets. Three or four storey buildings accommodate ground floor uses such as artisan coffee shops, restaurants, bars, pubs, branded retail units such as flower or specialised food stores along the streets around the market. The stores are open from Mondays to Saturdays. During

Figure 8-17. | Traders' use of the market, illustrating multi-ethnic community



Traders are talking and gathering around their stalls

Figure 8-18. | Fixed and movable trading equipment and facilities: designed stalls and storage, water and electricity



Uniformed stalls and coverings, provided by the Borough Market Trust



Storages in the parking lot, operated by the Borough Market Trust



Water and floor in the parking lot, provided by the Borough Market Trust



Vehicles controlled by the temporary bollards, arranged by the Borough Market Trust

the fieldwork period (2008-2009), local cafés and retail units were taken over by artisan shops, restaurants and branded retail units in Bedale and Borough High Streets (Spaces D and E). Borough Market has retained a local café inside the market since the refurbishment, serving food and drink and providing seating, from Wednesdays to Saturdays for the lunchtime trade.

As a covered market, Borough Market was designed with no physical barriers to public access. The covered market is physically accessible at all times regardless of opening or closing days. It therefore operates very much as a covered street, as shown in Figure 8-20. The layout of the market was designed to reflect the surrounding street pattern with several access points along the street frontages to allow for permeability. Only one access point in Borough Market High Street has a gate and it is closed on the day when the market is closed- which is Sunday.

With colourful displays of fresh food and ingredients, including ethnic produce and the smell of cooking, traders frequently display and advertise produce outside the boundary of the retail units or stall pitches on opening days. Some retail units and stalls facing the streets are open even on market closing days. Products are displayed in the passageways or streets around their retail units or stalls. The informal display is controlled by pitch-marking arranged by the Borough Market Trust.

Signage is provided by the Borough Market Trust, as illustrated in Figure 8-21. Fixed signs are designed for the structure of the covered market, with information about the market's history, and community boards are provided for local community news around the Borough Market site. Movable signs are placed by traders on the street corners and around market entrances during opening times.

Around Borough Market, there is new lighting and murals underneath the railway bridge, new hanging baskets on lampposts arranged by the BID, and the local authority has erected signposts for directions. Various historic buildings, such as Southwark Cathedral and old historic pubs, are located around the market which also has historic Victorian features in the market roof and structure. Those historic features are conserved by the local authority and English Heritage.

**Informal and formal seats (Figure 8-22), gathering areas (Figures 8-23), and covered areas for weather protection (Figure 8-24)**

As illustrated in Figure 8-22 to 8-24, Borough Market provide cafés seating only for customers. Around the market, elements on the street offer free informal seats such as the street kerbs, flower bed walls, low level electricity boxes, bollards, and especially the bases of columns. The

Figure 8-19. | Land uses: branded retail units, bars, cafes, restaurants, and historic buildings around Borough Market, open on market days





Figure 8-20. | Accessibility: Layout of stalls and retail units in Borough Market



Figure 8-21. | Historic buildings and signage around Borough Market





availability of seating depends on the opening times of the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral and the cafés. Movable tables and chairs are provided by the BID and create various combinations of seats in the cathedral courtyard (Figure 8-22).

Regarding gathering areas, the event hall in the covered market was designed as a multi-functional area for occasional formal gatherings such as planned events, or for stalls run by the Southwark Cathedral community or the Borough Market Trust, selling books on the market's history and branded bags. The streets around the market and the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral are also places of gathering (Figure 8-23).

Weather is an influential factor affecting use of the open spaces around the market. The covered market and the areas under the bridges and canopies accommodate people when it is raining, and these are available at any time (Figure 8-24). While outdoor seats and gathering areas in the street and the cathedral courtyard are popular in good weather, the Borough Market Trust provides coverings as temporary shelter where people can stand while eating or resting during times of poor weather. No public toilets are provided in the market. There are toilet facilities in Southwark Cathedral and in the cafés surrounding the market.

## **Number of people who come to Borough Market**

### **Number of users at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays (Figure 8-25)**

The number of people who come to Borough Market suggests shopping density and potential encounter rates. Times of operation supports shopping that promotes encounters in and around Borough Market. More people come on opening days although people still come to the market on the days when the retail food market is officially closed. Furthermore, compared with the number in the morning, about one and half times more people came on weekday lunchtimes. The density of people accessing the market through Stoney and Bedale Streets, which connect to offices and tourist attractions along the Thames, is nearly three times higher than that through the entrance from Borough High Street. More than two times as many people come to the market on Saturdays than on opening weekday afternoons, revealing the capacity of the space at its most congested. In particular, the volume of people in the streets increases on Saturdays, for example, by three times in Stoney Street.

### **Sitting at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays in the summer (Figure 8-27)**

The daily number of people sitting in and around the market reveals more sitting at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays, especially in the summer (Table 8A, 8B, 8C and Figure 8-26).

Figure 8-22. | Informal and formal seats in and around Borough Market



Figure 8-23. | Gathering and playing areas

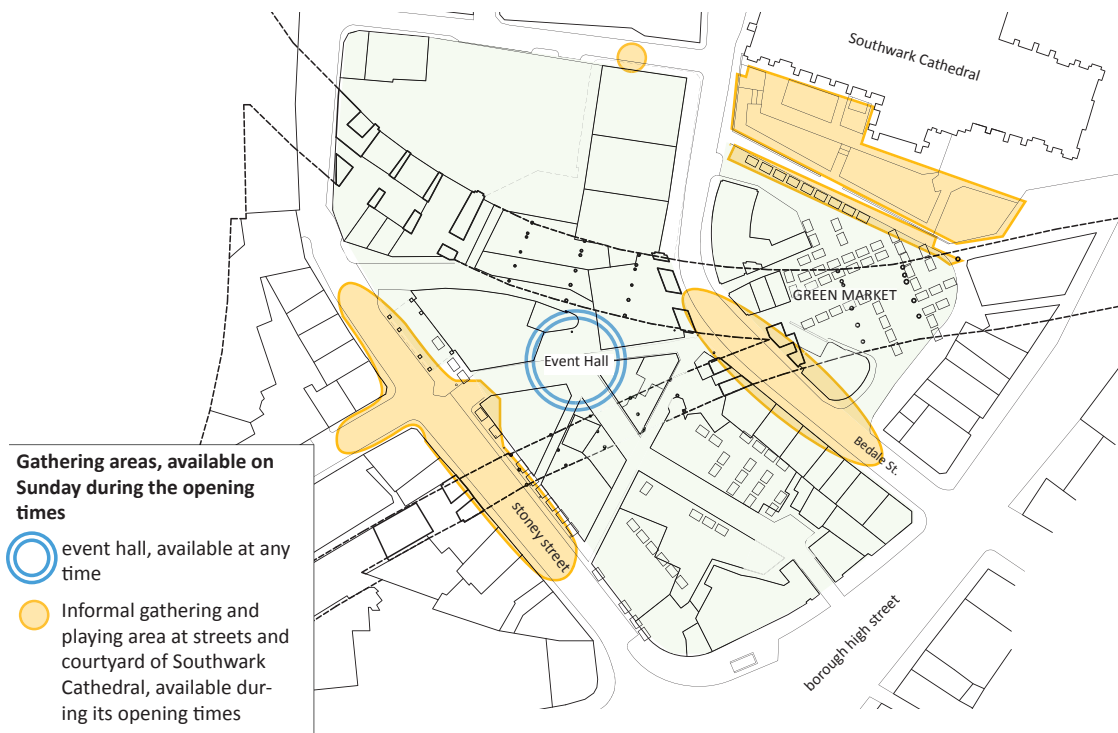




Figure 8-24. | Covered areas for the protection from the weather around the market



Figure 8-25. | Number of people who come to Borough Market



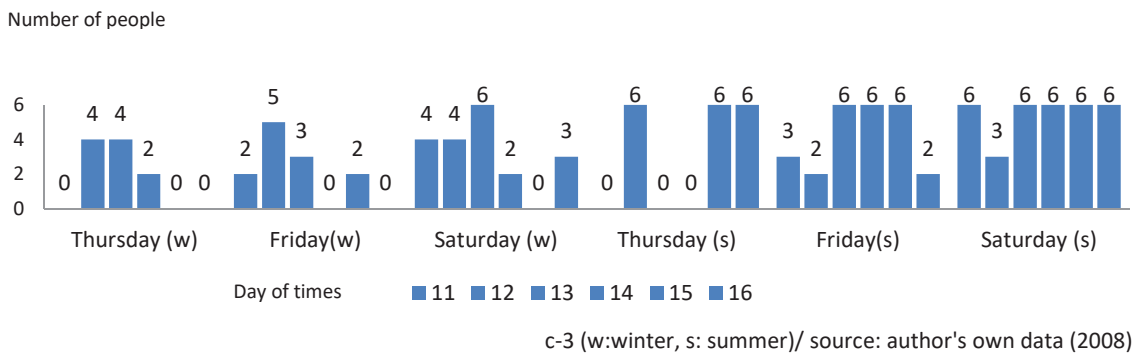
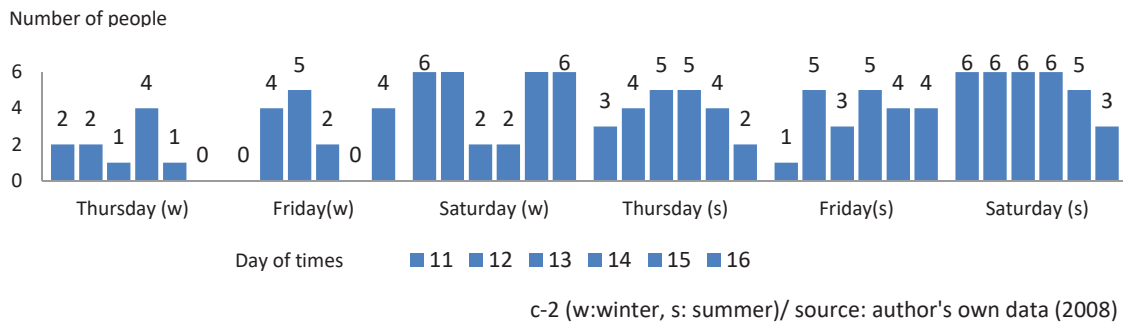
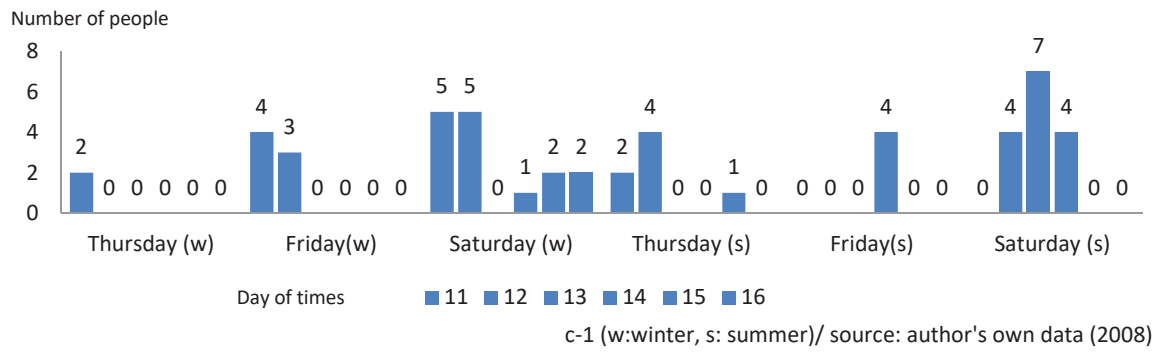
Outdoor café seats have steady occupancy regardless of the season. Although the outdoor café seats and benches in Southwark Cathedral courtyard are limited, the street and Southwark Cathedral courtyard maximise the capacity of the marketplace by increasing informal seats in summer, for example, by more than four times than that in the winter.

Figure 8-26. | Location of seats in Borough market

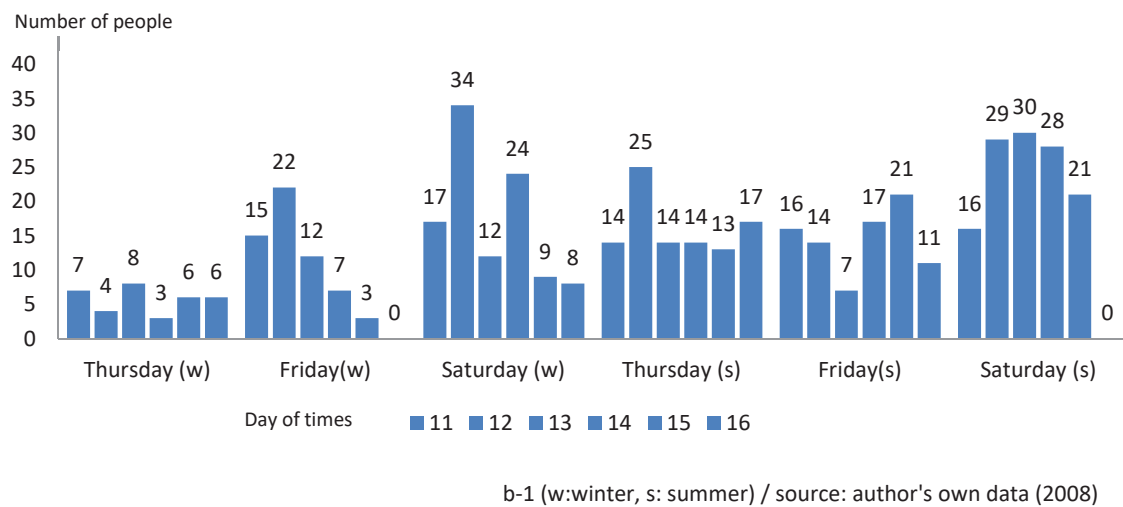




**Table 8A. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space c: outdoor café seats)**

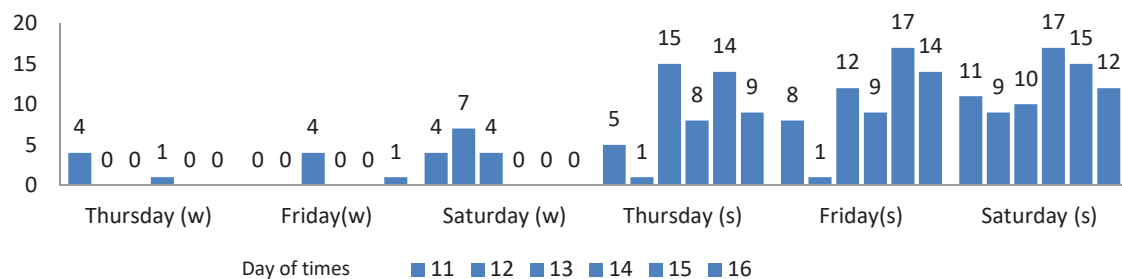


**Table 8B. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space b: benches in a local church)**



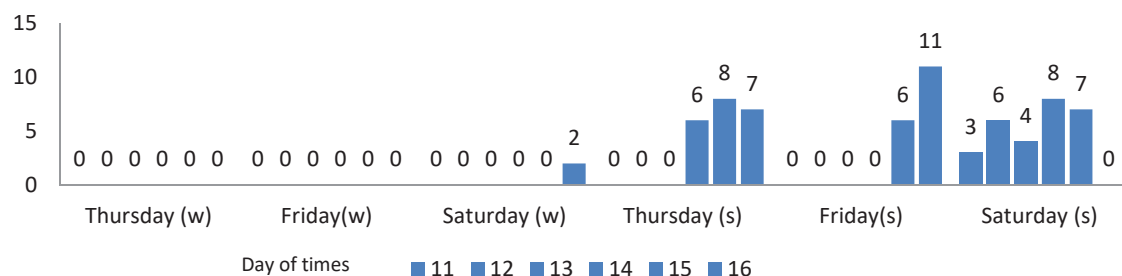
**Table 8C. Number of people sitting in the market over time (space s: informal seats)**

Number of people



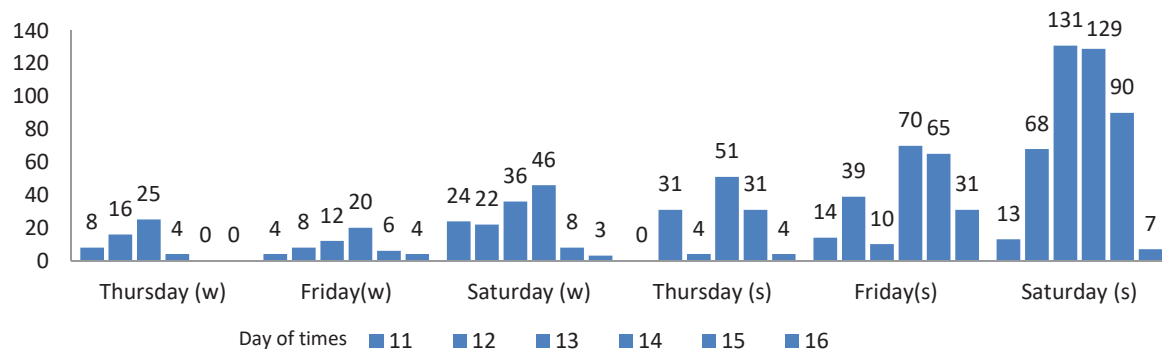
s-1 (w: winter, s: summer) / source: author's own data (2008)

Number of people



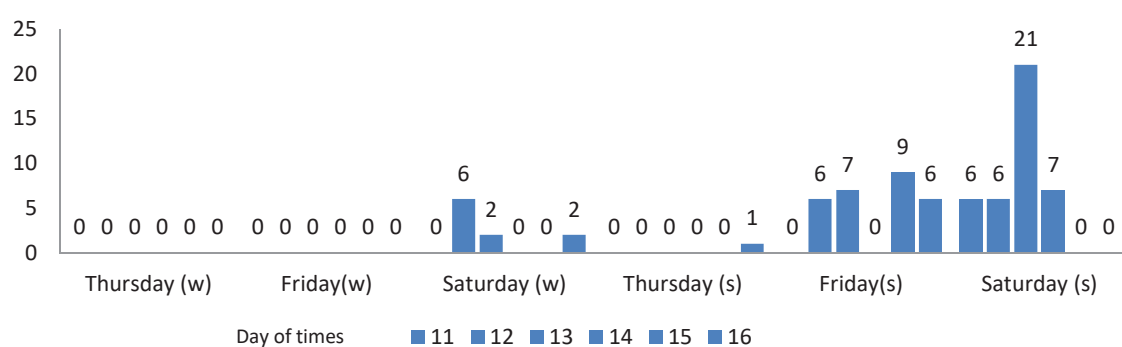
s-2 (w: winter, s: summer) / source: author's own data (2008)

Number of people



s-3 (w: winter, s: summer) / source: author's own data (2008)

Number of people



s-4 (w: winter, s: summer) / source: author's own data (2008)

Figure 8-27. | Vital activities in the streets and around Borough Market



Stoney and Park Street create gathering place



congestion in the covered market area on Saturdays



congestion in Green Market area on Saturday lunchtimes



congestion at the junction between Bedale Street and a covered market on Saturdays



heavy use in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral on Saturdays

## 8.4 Management in and around Borough Market

This section examines official and unofficial management practices in and around Borough Market in terms of application of regulations, management actions, and the maintenance regime. Table 8D shows that the practices involve management actors such as the Borough Market Trust, traders, utility companies, local community groups, local business and property owners, government, departments in the local council and the BID (Business Improvement District). Times of market operation indicate that management actions and strategies are aligned with patterns of use.

**Table 8D. Elements related to use, operators, and their locations and times of operation**

Elements related to USE and operators	Location	Times of operation
Parking space for traders, controlled by the local council	In the streets near the market	during the market opening times
Trading facilities (storage, water and electricity supplies), provided by the BMT	In the streets near the market	Market opening times
Products, offered by traders	D and E	Thursday to Saturday (open on market opening days) but some on market closing days
Community events, organised by a local church	A	Once a year
Guided walking tours, organised by private agencies	D and E	All weekdays and Saturdays (not on market opening days)
School trips, organised by local primary schools	A and B	Thursday mornings (on market opening days)
Traders' advertising	A, B, C and E	Market opening times
Filming by a broadcast company	E	Thursdays (on market opening days)
Traders' events for promotion	A	Thursdays (on market opening days)
Street festivals, organised by the BID	D and E	Saturdays (on market opening days)
Branded shops, bars, cafés, restaurants and historic buildings operated by the BMT and shop owners	D and E	Weekdays and Saturdays (on market opening days)
Layout of retail units and stalls, operated by the BMT	A-C	Market opening days
Users' access from the streets, operated by the BMT	A-C	All the time
Fixed signs, placed by the BMT	Around the market	All the time
Temporary signs, placed by traders	D and E	Needed on market opening times

**Table 8D. Elements related to market use, operators, and their locations and times of operation (continued)**

Elements related to USE	Location	Times of operation
Banners, placed by the BMT	A and B	All the time
Hanging flower baskets, placed by the BID	D and E	All the time
Lighting under the railway bridges, placed by the BID	Around the market	All the time
Historic buildings, maintained by the BMT	Market site	All the time
Benches, provided by a local church	F	All the time
Outdoor café seats, offered by café owners	A and C	Needed on market opening times
	D, E and F	Needed on market opening times
informal seats	C, D and E	All the time
	F	Church's opening times
weather protection, provided by the BMT	C and E	Needed on Sunny or rainy days on market opening times
public toilets	F	Needed all the time
CCTV, placed by the BMT	A, B and C	All the time
	D and E	Fridays or Saturdays (on market opening times)
Maintenance, provided by the BMT, BID, local council and local church	A, B and C	On the spot
	D and E	On the spot
	F	Needed on the spot
Cleaning, provided by the BMT, BID, local council and local church	A-C	Frequent (on market opening times)
	D and E	Twice a day (not on market opening days) when necessary
	F	Frequent on market opening times

Source: author's own summary

### Flexible application of regulations

Borough Market has been managed by a community organisation, the Borough Market Trust, since 1756. The community organization consists of a board of Borough Market Trustees, who are elected in the parish of Southwark Cathedral (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). Borough Market is operated on a contract basis, with a market manager and companies contracted for security, hygiene and cleaning.



The BID (Business Improvement District) is a semi-public sector body in charge of management of the areas around the market. BIDs are encouraged by the government in regional policy to encourage responsive management in local commercial areas. The role of a BID is as a partner of the council to promote economic vitality in terms of public service and local businesses. It allows businesses in a specific area to develop improvement plans. A proposal is created through research and consultation, which local businesses vote on. A decision is then made whether to pay a levy to fund the improvements. If agreed, the levy is secured to fund extra services and improvements identified in the proposal. Each BID operates for a maximum of five years, after which a new vote is taken ([www.betterbankside.org.uk](http://www.betterbankside.org.uk), 2009). The local authority has a statutory responsibility in accordance with the Local Government Act 2003 to support the development of BIDs and facilitate their establishment ([www.betterbankside.org.uk](http://www.betterbankside.org.uk), 2009). 'Better Bankside' has been in place since 2005 in the Bankside area, where Borough Market is located.

Trading in Borough Market focuses on two types of produce, such as wholesale fruit and vegetables and retail food. The market operates a selection process to ensure the quality of the produce on sale to the public. Food hygiene standards are tested regularly by both the market committee and private companies under contract. The selection committee requires high quality and taste standards for food and ingredients, with strict regulations demanding that they should be hygienic and organic (Trustees of Borough Market, 2007a).

However, according to the redevelopment phases since the market refurbishment in response to a lack of vitality, adaptability in trading, and times of operation are flexible. Space A consists of retail units and space B is open space for casual trading, some of the stalls are run by retailers who have shops in and around the market. Stalls as well as retail units are also located along the street (Space E) and stalls are located in the parking lot for casual trading of food, which operates on Fridays and Saturdays. The informal displays by traders are controlled by pitch-boundaries agreed with the Market Trust.

In fact, the daily number of traders is changing. There are 13–50 retail units and stalls regardless of the weather or the season in the covered market, and 15–73 stalls in the parking lot and the surrounding streets where the stalls are run by the retail unit owners. The number suggests that cafés, some retail food units and fruit and vegetable stores in the covered market open daily around lunchtimes even on the days when the market is officially closed (55% of retail units) although 78% of stalls and retail units are operated on opening days, from Thursdays to Saturdays (Table 8E).



**Table 8E. Number of operating retail units and stalls**

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Number of operating Retail units	13	18	20	30	33	32	0
Number of Stalls	0	0	0	42 (17/15/0)*	76 (17/15/34)	100 (17/15/58)	0
Totals	13	18	20	72	109	132	0

Author's own data (2008), \*all stalls (in the covered market/along street/in the parking lot)

### **Frequent cleaning and fixed or portable bins for cleanliness (Figure 8-28)**

The Market Trust provides cleaning whenever needed, regardless of opening or closing days in the covered market and the parking lot. In the streets around Borough Market, routine maintenance is undertaken by Southwark Council, with cleaning, waste collection, inspection of car parking, and repairs. In addition to this, the BID installed 20 'gum and butt catchers' for cleanliness, and runs designated warden schemes. Whereas no rubbish bins, except those for waste collection, are placed in the market, fixed bins are provided by the local authority in the streets. Plastic rubbish bags are placed by the BID in the streets and the Southwark Cathedral courtyard, especially on Saturdays.

### **CCTV, security guard, and policing for safety**

A CCTV system is operated in the covered market. The market's own security guards, traditionally known as beadles, have been under contract since the refurbishment. They conduct their rounds regularly and frequently more than twice a day, talk in a friendly way to traders and customers, and report problems in and around the market. The Metropolitan Police patrols twice a day, and talk with traders. The BID organises the Bankside Rangers for policing and monitoring. The BID and Borough Market Trust also provide security guards on Fridays or Saturdays when the market and street are congested.

### **Community events, guided walking tours, school trips, advertising, busking and filming (Figure 8-29)**

The Borough Market Trust has operated Borough Market as one of the oldest wholesale food markets in London and as a local food retail market. In order to improve the sense of place, a temporary market and a festival, the 'Food Lovers Fair', were introduced for publicity reasons, during the first phase of refurbishment in 1998. To publicise the refurbishment, the Borough

Figure 8-28 | Frequent cleaning and patrolling, and on-the-spot maintenance in and around the market

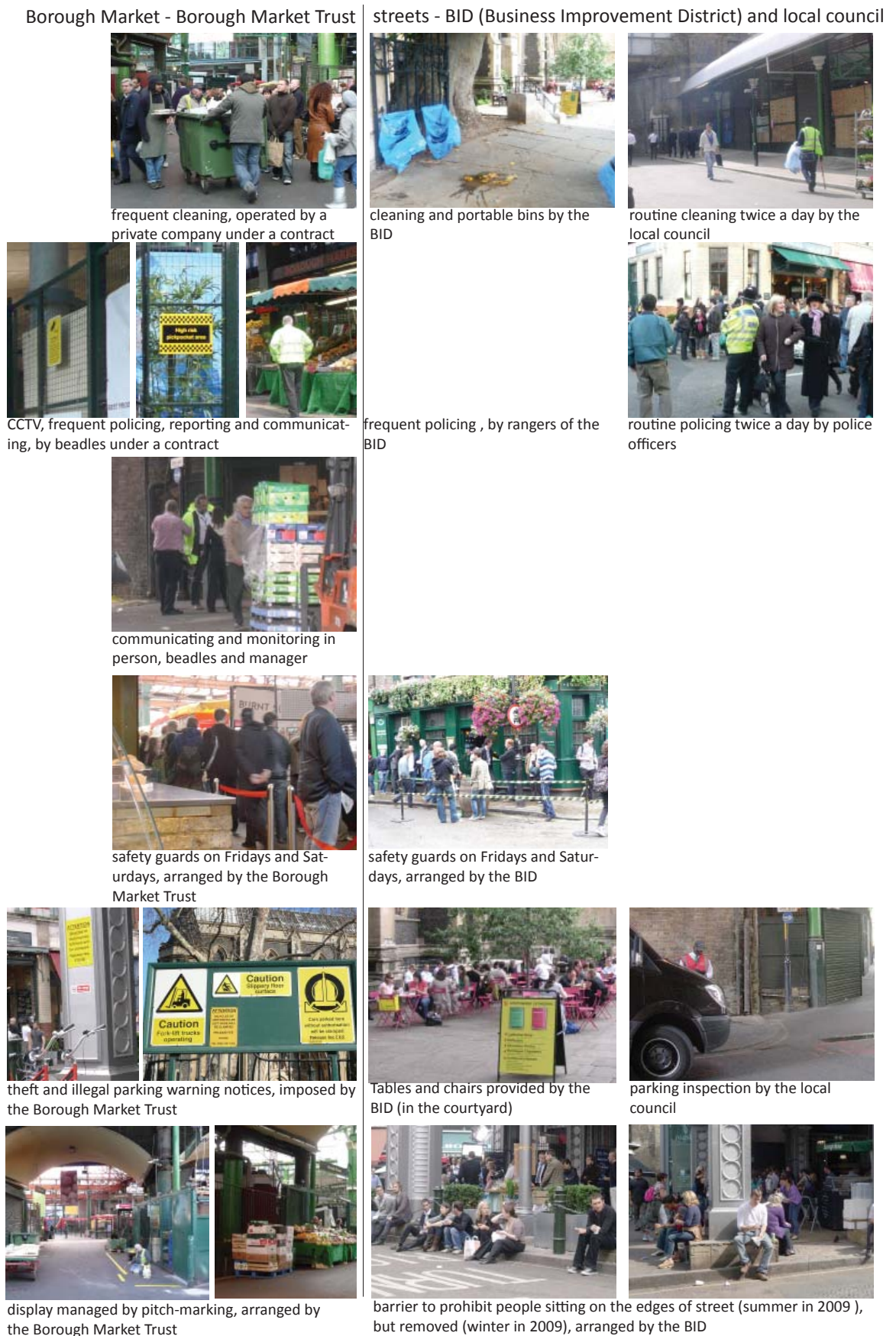


Figure 8-29. | Borough Market activities: events, guided tours, school trips, advertisement and filming



community events regularly on Saturdays



events regularly on Saturdays



events on Thursdays



school trips regularly on Thursday mornings



guided tours regularly on market days



filming regularly on Thursdays



busking regularly on Fridays



advertisement during the opening times





Market Trust used media such as a website, broadcasting, and advertisements in newspapers and magazines. A film was also produced as an artistic event with the support of the Tate Modern, a world-class art gallery located nearby.

Regular events, for example, Apple Day, introduce new seasonal ingredients or recipes for marketing purposes. Furthermore, the Market Trust and traders invite students, the local community, and local residents for regular events at the end of each year (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). In order to build spatial legibility, banners are hung and sales of market history books, and branded shopping bags help to build the Borough Market brand. Information boards about the market's history are displayed in the covered market site and in the parking lot.

Around Borough Market, the BID launched a 'Legible London' scheme to make the railway arches and bridges cleaner and friendlier, for example by providing lighting underneath the railway bridge and new hanging baskets on lampposts. The BID has also promoted events such as a Thames in Summer Event in order to attract visitors and tourists ([www.betterbankside.org.uk](http://www.betterbankside.org.uk), 2009). Events and performances are planned on Saturdays.

Traders, local community groups, local primary schools, private agencies and a broadcasting company organise advertising, community events, school trips, guided walking tours, busking and filming. Traders advertise their food samples or produce at their stalls, in passageways, and in streets around the market entrance, talking to customers about ingredients and recipes, which develop the social atmosphere of the market. Local community groups and organisations such as Southwark Cathedral operate a stall in the market or organise events on weekdays in the courtyard of the cathedral. Local primary schools organise school trips on Thursday mornings and private travel agencies arrange guided walking tours for tourists and visitors around the market. Filming operated by a broadcasting company takes place regularly on Thursdays in the street. The Borough Market coordinates the times and locations of these events to prevent congestion.

## 8.5 Use, physicality and management perceived by users and by the Borough Market Trust and the BID

Regarding the relationship between use, management and physicality in and around Borough Market, this section discusses pressures from use in terms of the economic, social and

functional attributes, the physicality and market management perceived by users and key professional management actors such as the Borough Market Trust and the Business Improvement District (BID). The Author, regular users, traders, and local residents from newly developed offices and residences, and local council housing provide users' perceptions. The positive and negative perceptions are analysed according to their preferences about the conditions of the market, and their priorities regarding these conditions.

### 8.5.1 Author's perceptions about the market spaces

#### **Litter, lack of free seats, congestion and road works observed on a walk along Route A (Space E, A and B, Figure 8-30)**

Borough Market has an inviting atmosphere created by its historic features of the old structure and roof, custom-designed signage such as banners, and good views from the main event hall. The wide range of food in the surrounding restaurants, cafés and stalls, the English and Mediterranean ingredients for sale in the market's vegetable and fruit shops, and the flower and cheese shops, provide a colourful atmosphere with good, fresh smells and the sound of cooking.

The distinctive historic features of the buildings in the area such as a local pub, bar, the Borough Market entrance, and a building moved from Covent Garden, create an attractive character to the area. The width of space between stalls is good for access, and space for eating and resting is created easily around the street corners.

Regarding the market atmosphere, sitting in the sun with the good smells of food and coffee, and people standing chatting in the road with drinks around the pub, generate an enjoyable atmosphere, in spite of the noise from the trains above. Friendly traders inform customers about recipes and ingredients, and the presence of tourists creates a social atmosphere with a variety of ethnicities and diverse languages. Traders' social gatherings or talking in an ethnic group, give a good impression of the market community.

Male and female office workers, young people, families, and elderly couples join in the social interaction which includes conversations with traders, adding further variety to the market community. The sounds of events such as the promotion of newly released products, petitioners, dancing and busking, also enrich the character of the market space. Homeless people are seen talking in a friendly manner around the entrance to Borough Market.

However, the railway bridges have no lighting, and there is litter on the road. One area has been decorated with a mural that characterises the images of the market. As a result of the heavy use of the street on Saturday afternoons, there is much drink-related litter, especially bottles and glasses, some of which are broken. The event and marketing activities are also associated with congestion, and road works, traffic and parking also interfere with activities and the ability to linger in the streets around the market. In fact, congestion deters people from walking through the passageways between the event hall and Bedale Street. The absence of free seats for resting and eating is another uninviting condition.

**Litter, lack of free seats, congestion and road works observed on a walk along Route B (Spaces C, D and F, Figure 8-31)**

A variety of local cafés, retail units and stalls selling west European food and ingredients gives a good impression of the market area. The sound and smell of cooking and the diverse colours of the food and ingredients offset the noise of the trains from above. Local cafés, a barber shop, fruit and vegetable shops, and restaurants along the street give variety to the shopping experience, and the historic nature of the buildings, especially a local pub, gives character to the street, which is also enhanced by flower baskets hanging on the lamp posts.

The entrance to the covered market welcomes visitors with vivid banners and signs. The historic character of Southwark Cathedral, the weddings and community events add an attractive element to the marketplace. Especially in the sunshine, the location encourages sitting in diverse areas such as on the grass in the cathedral courtyard, and on the street kerbs, as well as using the benches, tables and chairs. Regarding the social atmosphere, the traders' friendly explanations and offers to taste the food, are also positive attractions. The presence of market staff, cleaning or policing the area, gives a feeling of safety.

Homeless people do not behave in a hostile manner in the public spaces around the entrance to Borough Market on opening days. Under the viaduct, however, water from the railway produces puddles, especially after rain. The parking lot is located under the railway bridge, which is a dirty, unlit space, smelling of deteriorating produce. Litter is scattered on the road, and road works deter people's access. Poor weather discourages use of the market, while the presence of drunken homeless people creates a fear of crime.



Figure 8-30. | Potential problems on weekday in Route A (Spaces E → A → B)

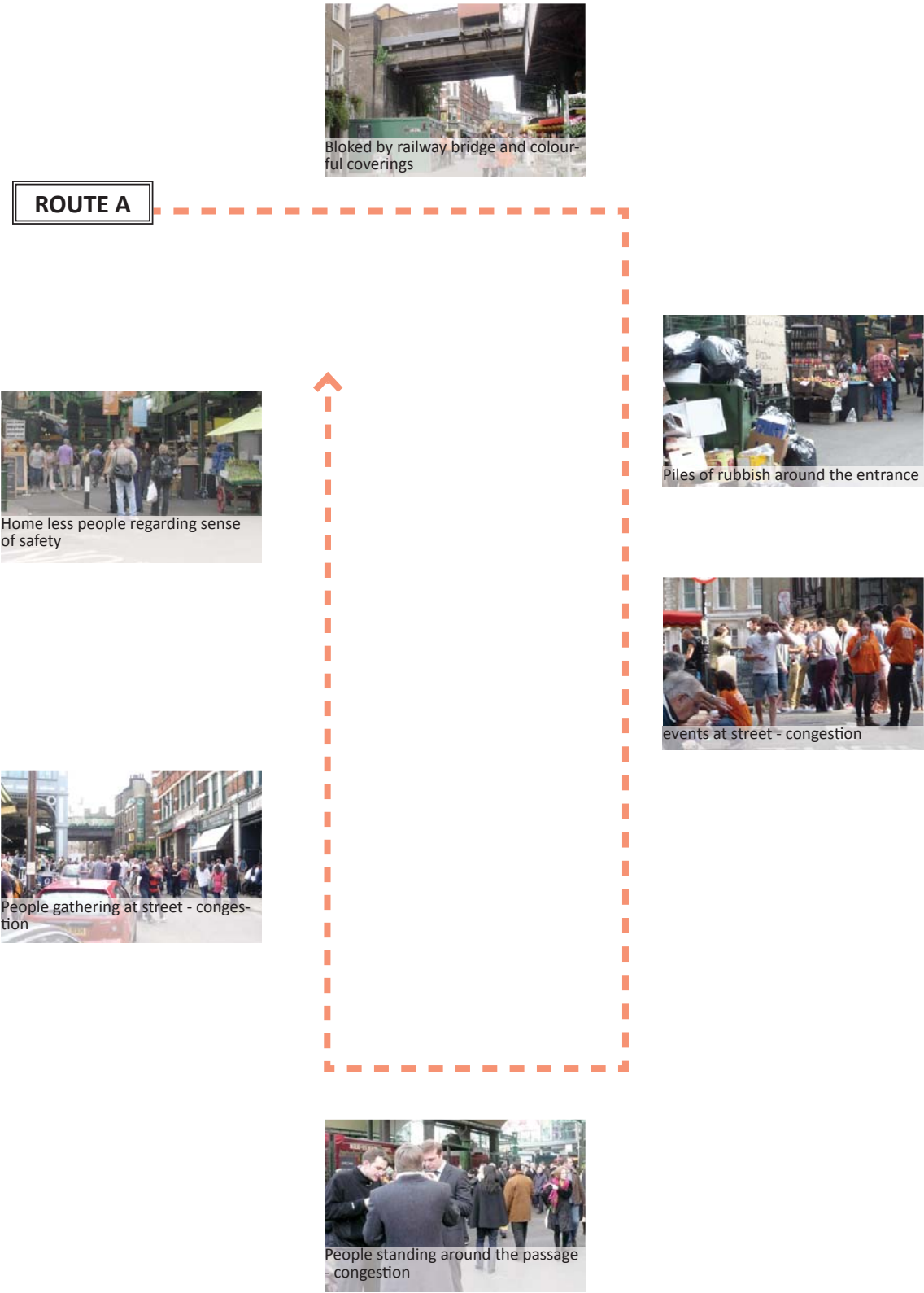


Figure 8-31. | Potential problems on weekday in Route B (Spaces C → D → F)



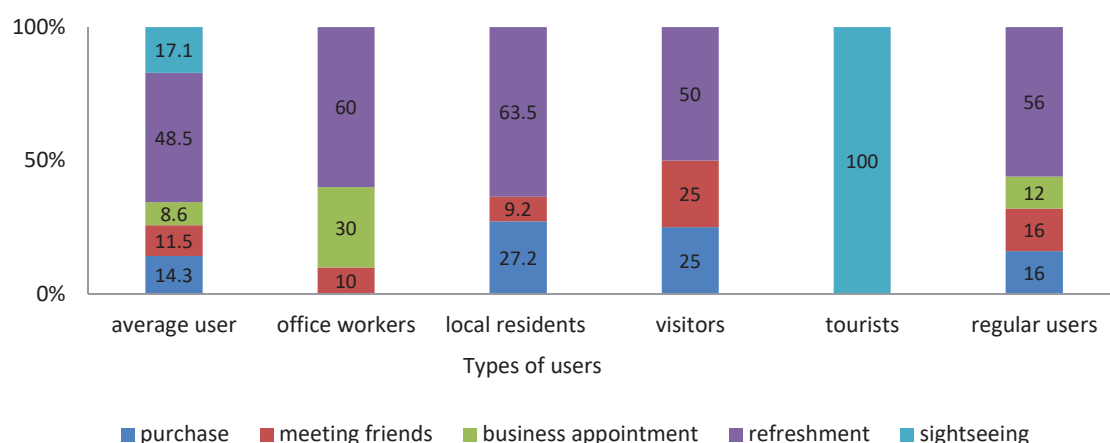
### 8.5.2 Users' perceptions

Users in the local area are composed of local residents in newly developed offices and residences and those from local council housing. Regular users among the interviewees had visited Borough Market more than once a week since the refurbishment. They consisted of male and female office workers who work in Borough High Street and Bankside; young local residents who walk or use bicycles to get to the market, who live in newly developed residential accommodation at Bankside; and regular visitors who come by public transport from other areas in London. Regular local users, particularly office workers and young local residents from newly developed housing, come to Borough Market around lunchtimes on weekdays, whereas tourists come on Saturdays. Traders also identify customers as affluent people from the local area, such as office workers and local residents living in newly developed residences (interview with traders, 2009).

The interviewees visit Borough Market for rather diverse reasons as well as for the purchase of fruit, vegetables and Mediterranean food ingredients. The users come for food for lunch, meet friends or hold business meetings, or for refreshments and sightseeing (Table 8F). Tourists visit the market as part of their sightseeing as the market is one of the tourist attractions along the River Thames. Office workers frequent the market for food, refreshment or business meetings, and local residents and regular visitors tend to come to meet friends, for refreshments, and to make practical purchases of fruit, vegetables and food ingredients. The locations they visit are the market stalls in the covered market, cheese, fruit and vegetable shops, and cafés along the streets, and the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, which suggests that they perceive all these spaces as part of Borough Market.

**Table 8F. Reasons for visiting Borough Market**

Percentage reflecting most preferred reasons to visit



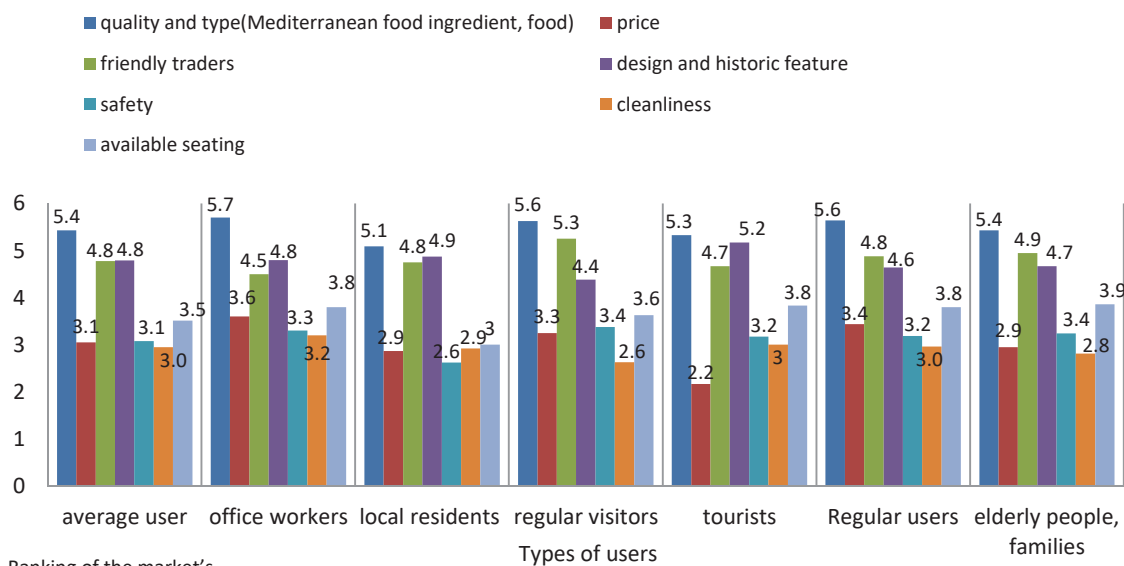
source: author's own data (2009)

### Quality of the food and ingredients offered in Borough Market

Good quality food and ingredients, such as farmers' and Mediterranean produce and international food, regardless of price, was mentioned by users as being their top priority for a visit to Borough Market (Table 8G). 'It [Borough Market] is close and it has good food and lots of diversity of food... something slightly more expensive but value for money... it is good quality, so I prefer to pay' (interview with a female office worker, 2009).

The high prices, and a range limited to English and Mediterranean produce, did not attract local residents, especially Asians, living in nearby council housing (interview with local residents in council housing, 2009). The main concern of local residents from the council housing was the high prices which they could not afford.

**Table 8G. Ranking of the market's characteristics according to user groups**



Ranking of the market's characteristics 0-6, where 6 is excellent

source: author's own data (2009)

### Friendly traders support the market's social atmosphere, and the historic features of the market

High priority is given to the friendliness of traders and the historic architectural features of the market, in contributing to the market atmosphere (Table 8G). Office workers, young local residents, and traders said that they had known each other for a long time. In order to look at the historic features of the marketplace, users are willing to walk around although they come to the market mainly to buy food or products (interview with a female worker, 2009).

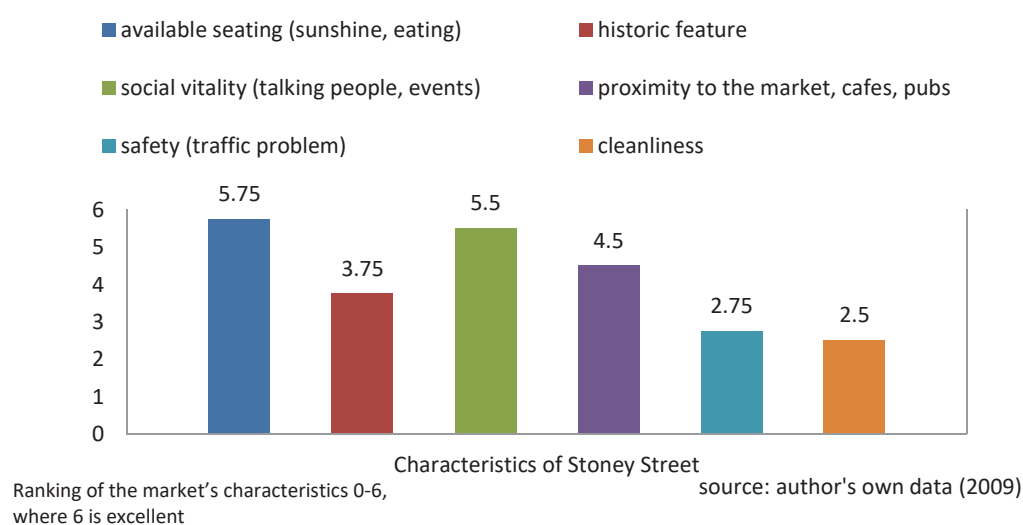
Regular users said that they do not require signs to find Borough Market although tourists and visitors need them. Events for tourists in the streets around Borough Market on Saturdays are seen negatively, as they intensified congestion in the area. A female office worker said that 'markets are not for entertainment' (interview with a female office worker at Stoney Street, 2009). Nonetheless, low-income people from local council housing primarily saw Borough Market as a tourist attraction, and visited from time to time for the festivals (interview with local residents in council housing, 2009).

### Safe and clean market spaces in spite of the congestion

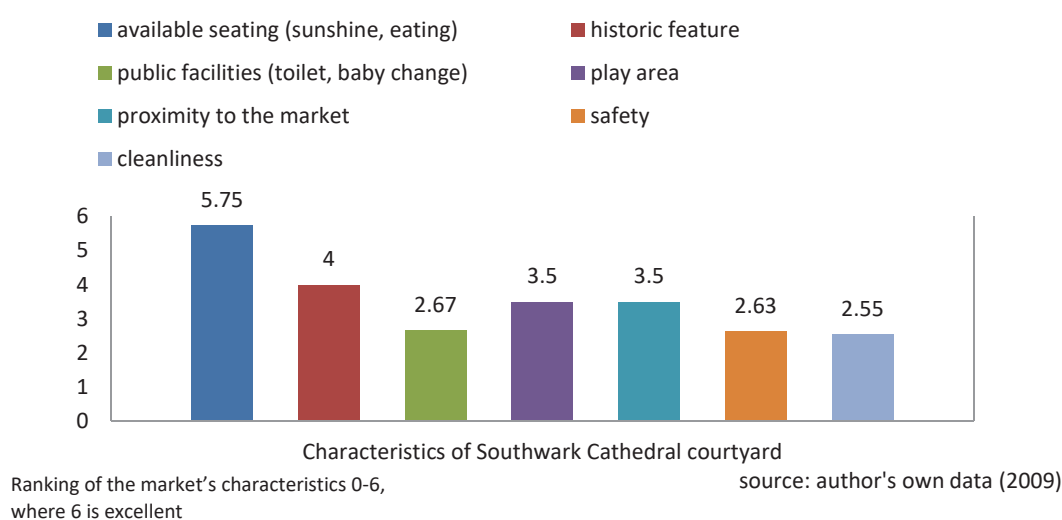
Safety, cleanliness, available seating and gathering areas are not critical (rated between 2 and 4, table 8G), but the factors, especially safety and available seats, are driving certain user groups to stand or sit in certain spaces (Tables 8H and 8I). For example, two elderly women

who come for food ingredients stressed a fear of crime such as pickpockets, although they had no experience of this, and the presence of security staff gave them a feeling of safety (interview with two elderly women, 2009). They did not give a high priority to formal seating because they usually do not stay in the market, but market cafés in the covered market are preferred for quality food at low prices and the provision of formal seating especially when it is raining (interview with an elderly couple, 2009).

**Table 8H. Ranking of the market's characteristics in Stoney Street**



**Table 8I. Ranking of the market's characteristics in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral**



Stoney Street is preferred by office workers and young local residents for its proximity to their favourite food stalls, cafés and pubs, availability of seats and gathering areas, especially in the sunshine, and for its vitality and historic features (Table 8H). The courtyard of Southwark



Cathedral is singled out by office workers and regular visitors such as families or women with children for its provision of diverse seats, gathering and playing areas, and nearby public toilets (Table 8I). In open space such as the street or the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, sunshine is an attraction. A young male local resident said, 'I like sitting like this [on the street kerb]... I'm not expecting to sit at a table, you know somewhere... something is I don't feel I need... Sunshine is more important definitely.' Some users added that 'being away from market stalls' was an advantage of the cathedral courtyard. A female office worker said,

'I use everything. I sit here [in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral] and I sat on the chairs available. I sat on the street kerb... more benches better, but sometimes sitting is just nice... being in the sun... more important one is away from the trading. I think it is quieter like here than being in the middle of the market.'

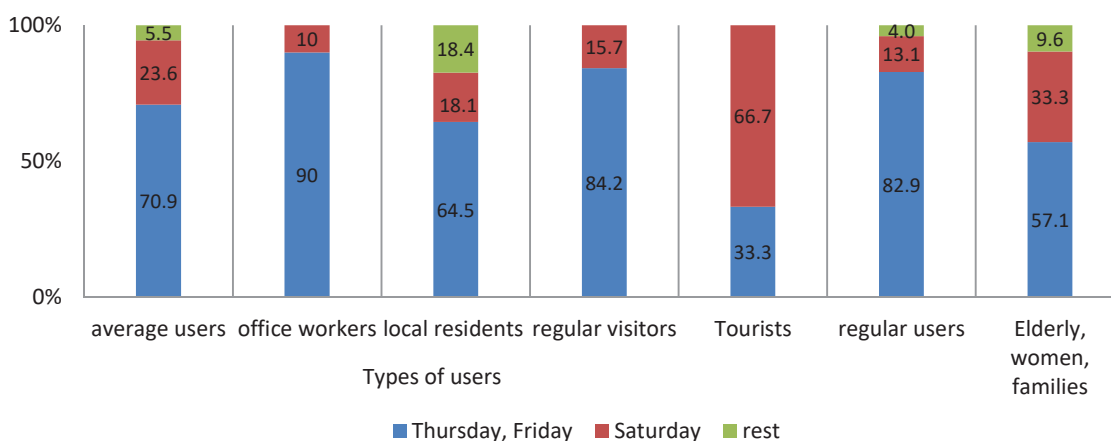
Another office worker said that

'sometimes you don't want to sit in the market area, but you want to sit in sunshine or you want to sit somewhere not quite as crowded, surrounded by things... If you want to take your time, sometimes you can't do that if you are next to a store or alongside people too, more people through and more people to sell.'

Women or families with children as regular visitors said that they prefer sitting in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral because of its diverse informal and formal seats, sunny children's play area, and facilities such as baby changing and toilets (interview with customers at the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, 2009).

**Table 8J. Preference of days to visit the market, according to user groups**

Percentage reflecting most popular days to visit



source: author's own data (2009)

Furthermore, users' preference for particular spaces depends on the days when they visit the market (Table 8J). Regular users, particularly office workers, young local residents, and regular visitors show a higher preference for market visits on Thursdays and Fridays, rather than Saturdays. Congestion, excessive rubbish, heavy pedestrian traffic, danger from cars, and a lack of seating, are the main reasons for discomfort, and are perceived to be the result of tourism.

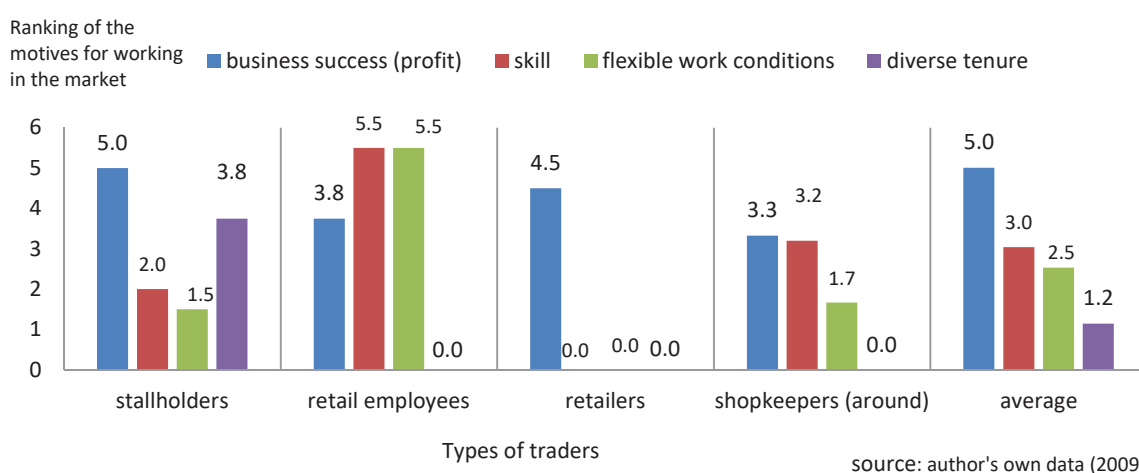
Elderly people, women, and families who are users of the market for practical purchases, reveal a preference for Tuesdays or Wednesdays which are closing days when only some vegetable shops are open. In particular, elderly women mention fear of crime such as pickpockets although they have not experienced this (interview with an elderly woman, 2009). The presence of security staff helps them to feel safe in and around the market.

### Positive perceptions about market management in relation to the market's quality and vitality

Regular users consider that safety, cleanliness and vitality has improved since the refurbishment of the market. However, actions are demanded to resolve the problems of congestion and rubbish on Saturdays (interview with a young local resident at Stoney Street, 2009), and provision of public facilities such as toilets or baby changing areas (interview with a family, 2009). The railway viaduct extension is a concern, raising fears of the loss of historic features and removal of market trading (interview with a female office worker, 2009).

### Traders' preferences about business success and diverse tenures in the market

**Table 8K. Reasons for coming to Borough Market, according to the types of traders**



For market traders, economic success and the opportunity to train and learn skills for future ventures, regardless of their experience or age, were the reasons that they worked in the market (Table 8K). Through economic recessions, some retail employees had transferred their jobs from office work or banking to setting up their own businesses or had part-time jobs, for example, a lecturer in a college worked as a part-time retail worker (interview with traders in and around the market, 2009). According to the types of traders, flexibility of working conditions and diverse tenure for market stalls were attractions, especially for stallholders operating multiple businesses and for retail employees. Among those interviewed, the traders in the retail units of the covered market worked part-time at Borough Market. Traders or shopkeepers in the retail units around the market saw themselves as part of the community of market traders because they shared customers or ran retail units or stalls in the market.

### **Lack of public toilets in the market, and the need for extra cleaning and security during times of congestion**

Traders and shopkeepers in and around Borough Market said that the community of traders in and around Borough Market was well organised. Trading equipment and facilities, and facilities for rest and drinks provided by Borough Market Trust for traders, were important factors in keeping them working in the market. However, they considered the lack of public toilets a problem for both traders and customers. Additional actions for safety, security, and cleaning are required when the market and streets are congested, especially on Saturdays. Fear of crime was related to street drinkers on Friday and Saturday nights. A female trader said that it 'is not serious... but when I found broken bottles on Monday morning, it makes me worry' (interview with a female trader, 2009).

### **Management actions to address traders' needs**

Traders said that they know where to report problems, and management responds to them quickly. The Borough Market Trust communicates with market traders, local businesses and the community, and obtains feedback from traders through a website, face-to-face communication, and a newsletter providing information about events and feedback on current issues. Furthermore, the traders come to work in Borough Market because management arranges marketing and advertising (interview with a food retailer, 2009). Around the market, the BID publishes newsletters, collects feedback from traders and customers, issues reports on issues concerning the market, nurtures a face-to-face relationship with traders and customers, and holds regular meetings for ongoing communication with stakeholders such as local businesses and properties in the local area. Any sign of change in the marketplace as a result of

feedback about users' needs is perceived as an improvement by traders (interview with a trader, 2009).

### 8.5.3 Perceptions of the Borough Market Trust and the BID

Use, management and physicality perceived by key professional actors, such as an architect who has designed and been involved in the phases of the market refurbishment, and a public realm manager in the BID, reveal their motives regarding market management. On the basis of these perceptions, the managers plan a response to the pressures. Management practices are arranged to consider the needs of the local community, but this also depends on the managers' attitudes to the different aspects of market use.

#### **Borough Market Trust**

##### **Economic vitality in a gentrified area**

Borough Market has its own vision as 'a local food market', stressing ties with the local community and its neighbours (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). This suggests that Borough Market is viewed as a public good. The Borough Market Trust announced itself as a 'social enterprise' which returned its economic profit to local residents in the parish (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006). For the open access, Borough Market was also planned for physically unobstructed public access, with the marketplace being accessible regardless of opening or closing days and times.

However, the Borough Market Trust has clearly described target customers since the market's refurbishment as affluent people from the local community, 'local buyers' who it refers to as 'Borough Food Market Shoppers (BFM Shopper)'. They are 'serious shoppers not browsers' and are 'prepared to spend money on quality food'. Borough Market Trust highlighted that 'it is important that BFM Shoppers feel they are getting value for money' (Trustees of Borough Market, 2007). The quality of food and ingredients are important for generating economic profit for the traders although the control of food quality in the market by the BMT is expensive (interview with an architect, 2009). The provision of diverse ingredients was initially envisaged to be sold through a farmers' market, but the Market Trust changed the plan, so that both the wholesale and the retail food markets now provide high quality English and Mediterranean ranges of food produce and products (Trustees of Borough Market, 2006).

As customers for a high quality local food market, local residents have been joined by office workers and visitors including international tourists, who were not the original target

customers for the market operator, but have since been added to the market's user groups as the Thames district has been gradually redeveloped with new offices and housing. However, tourists were perceived as non-regular users, not buying produce, and causing problems such as congestion on peak days (interview with an architect, 2009).

When it comes to promotion, management accepts unofficial trading and the Market Trust extends opening days based on a certain level of attendance. Along with the flexible application of regulations, the Market Trust offers diverse tenure arrangements, such as permanent leases and casual licenses, in contract (interview with an architect, 2009).

### **Railway viaduct extension**

While its proximity to public transport is an opportunity for the market, the Market Trust also presented it as a problem. The railway viaduct extension, which was planned at the London level to improve public access by train to the city centre, would mean the sacrifice of historic buildings in the conservation area, including part of Borough Market. Local community groups addressed place identity in terms of the historic and architectural character of the market ([www.LondonSE1news.org](http://www.LondonSE1news.org), 2005). They were concerned about the disruption to the area for a significant period of time, despite the benefit from the improvements. They would lose buildings, from the Victorian period or earlier, including some under the railway arch spaces such as the Borough Market roof. In 2005, the Cathedral Area Residents' Association (CARA) and the Bankside Residents' Forum (BRF) established the 'Save Borough Market Campaign' with a petition against the Thameslink plan ([www.saveboroughmarket.org.uk](http://www.saveboroughmarket.org.uk), 2005). They protested against the absence of proposals for the reinstatement of buildings to be demolished in the Borough High Street Conservation Area and the alternative route through a regenerated site. Actions and petitions by these groups led to two public enquiries in 2000 and 2005.

Both Southwark Council and English Heritage also objected to the scheme, but English Heritage reached a compromise by advising on the viaduct's design. The Borough Market Trust also opposed the extension project because it would cause a partial closure of the market and impair its vitality, but the trustees withdrew their objections in response to the revised design and altered phases. The problem of relocation and closure of retail units and market stalls as a result of the railway extension was a top priority for market management in the research period (interview with a manager of the BID, 2009).

The management's monitoring and quick response to issues, was enabled by diverse sources of investment and resources. The market's own profit and traders' fees were the main sources of income for the market to be allocated by management, and it has additional revenue because it has been registered as a charity. The market refurbishment was supported financially by governmental organisations such as the London Development Agency (LDA) because the market contributes to the local economy and creates local job opportunities. In return for £2.7 million from the LDA, Borough Market was expected to create and safeguard around 500 jobs for local people. Since the Green Market was established, providing an additional 50 stalls, the LDA had contributed more towards supporting businesses in the market, with additional training for the existing workforce, and a childcare programme (www.lda.gov.uk, 2009). Based on this investment, the manager and security staff monitor use and communicate with users; users can report problems and offer feedback in a face-to-face relationship whenever necessary.

### **Safety and an attractive design for market efficiency**

Management provides customer-based services quickly in response to traders' and customers' perceptions. Borough Market Trust focuses on removing the conflict over uses to maintain market efficiency. To deal with the problem of rubbish, the Borough Market cleaning staff frequently collects food waste and other rubbish regardless of opening and closing days, and more frequently around lunchtimes and on Saturdays when the market is congested. Trading infrastructure and equipment have the provision to be movable, reflecting the casual use of the market.

Regarding congestion, the width of passageways between stalls was determined by the need for an effective arrangement for promotion by traders, while maintaining the free flow of movement for shopping. The resulting design sacrificed public seating (interview with an architect,<sup>1</sup> 2009). Trading equipment such as stalls, covers and lighting in the parking lot and around the covered market site was uniformly designed and provided for the traders (interview with an architect, 2009).

Responding to traders and customers' fear of crime, especially caused by street drinkers, the market management excluded homeless people because of their potential for anti-social

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<sup>1</sup> The architect had been engaged in Borough Market since he won the competition for the initial refurbishment plan.



behaviour. The security staff of Borough Market talked to homeless people to dissuade them from entering the market.

‘Homeless people stay at Stoney Street around the entrance during the daytime selling *The Big Issue* but if they try to stay at night or for other reasons, they must go... The market tries not to allow them into the market’ (interview with a security staff in Borough Market, 2009).

In fact, homeless people selling *The Big Issue* were strolling or sitting at the entrances of the market on all days in winter and summer. They spoke to customers and passersby in a friendly manner, informing them about the market and other places in the local area. Southwark Cathedral had a contract with a security company for surveillance of their property, in 2009. Drunken homeless people in the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral were recognised as a potential source of anti-social behaviour and advised to leave the property by their security guards (interview with an administrator in Southwark Cathedral, 2009). There was no such plan to monitor and patrol in the streets around the market (interview with a BID manager, 2009), and the BID area.

## **Business Improvement District (BID)**

### **Economic and social benefits of the market for the local area**

The BID identifies the economic and social benefits of Borough Market. The BID works for local businesses, especially in the area of promotion with a good amount of investment and funding from the levy for local businesses ([www.betterbankside.org.uk](http://www.betterbankside.org.uk), 2009). It considers that Borough Market contributes to the local economy although it is not paying the local business rates; and as an open space for activities, it provides no public seating in the area (interview with a BID manager, 2009).

The BID regards the market as one of the main tourist attractions along the River Thames. This has led to the creation and promotion of events and festivals on Saturdays (interview with a BID manager, 2009), which also produces congestion caused by increased numbers of tourists. Activities such as filming, guided walking tours, and school trips that may potentially cause congestion are relocated out of the market or their timing is controlled and programmed. Informal signs placed by traders were controlled by management, which allowed them only during opening times.

### **Market vitality and quality derived from use**

The management reactions at Borough Market proceeded from the motives of promoting vitality and quality, especially caring for the comfort of users: 'public space is only good if it is used, if it is animated'. They have investigated 'how people really use space and more pleasant routes' (interview with a BID manager, 2009). Accordingly, standing, lingering and sitting, which are excluded from the covered market due to congestion, are accepted in the surrounding streets. In an effort to create a comfortable attractive environment around Borough Market, the BID gives financial support to projects such as artworks, signage, lighting and hanging baskets organised by the council (interview with a BID manager, 2009).

### **Market management plans for better coordination**

The BID established a plan for shutting down Stoney Street on Saturdays due to congestion by people, vehicles and waste. 'People spill on to the streets [from Borough Market]' and the congestion is 'not pleasant and uncomfortable' (Interview with a BID manager, 2009). However, the plan is under consideration because vehicles need to be allowed through the street for waste collection and deliveries for the convenience of local residents and businesses.

In alliance with the Metropolitan Police and local businesses, the BID has managed to control anti-social behaviour by street drinkers (Interview with a BID manager, 2009). Nonetheless, the BID realises that it must accept the presence of all people in the streets as part of the public realm. The BID and cathedral staff undertook monitoring and educating homeless people. They permit the presence of homeless people on condition that they do not use the area around the market during times specified for other users. The manager explained the level of control: 'We have rangers... and we know pretty well where they (homeless people) go, we are always finding them around, and what we do is we assist them in finding help, and refer them to other people who can assist them if they want to be helped, and if they don't and they continue to stay in the area, then we will move them on' (Interview with a BID manager, 2009).

With regard to social vitality and a high quality public environment supporting a range of activities, the BID negotiates management rights according to ownership in the local area. As a member of the Borough Market Trust, Southwark Cathedral is supportive of the market customer's use of the courtyard and its toilet facilities, but it also remarked on the lack of investment and resources in return for this (interview with an administrator in Southwark Cathedral, 2009). The BID supports resources for the maintenance and cleaning of Southwark Cathedral, which is a key attraction for visitors and tourists, which also helps local businesses

(Interview with a BID manager, 2009). At the local level, the BID was also engaged in applying policies for environmental sustainability such as waste collection and recycling, and suggested and planned a recycling machine for food waste (Interview with a manager, 2009).

## 8.6 Conclusions

The dominant activities in Borough Market are again walking, shopping, sightseeing, standing and sitting. Shopping occurs at a slower speed than purposeful walking, but users engaged in walking and sightseeing frequently engage in shopping, and this extends to standing and sitting in the marketplace during longer visits.

The patterns of use in Borough Market, a covered market, are summarised by three interlocking attributes. The first attribute of the market experience is shopping linked to economic performance, and sightseeing providing cultural value. The functional attribute is dominated by activities such as purchasing, browsing, queuing, taking photos, resting, eating and waiting for family and friends. These activities support the social attribute including talking, observing and watching, listening, children playing, and gathering. Users of the market mainly consist of families, women, young and elderly people, office workers at weekday lunchtimes, and tourists of different ethnicities on Saturdays.

The concentration of activities in the market, surrounding streets and in Southwark Cathedral courtyard, all peak during weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays, especially in summer. The number of people, or the higher shopping densities and encounter rates, suggests that more people come on market opening days for shopping, especially at weekday lunchtimes, with a peak on Saturdays. Activities such as advertising, filming, events, festivals, guided walking tours, and school trips, are part of the market experience.

A partnership approach to management aims to enhance market legibility, and deliver on-the-spot maintenance, amongst the many tasks undertaken to ensure optimum operation of the market. Management practices are both formal and informal. Diverse stakeholders such as traders, utility companies, local community groups, local businesses and property owners, government, departments in the local council, and the BID, are involved at the local level.

Traders advertise, and actively operate movable trading facilities with displays of colours, smells and sounds of food, and diverse signage. Traders including employees, stall holders and retailers rely on the market for business success, and respond quickly when the need for

change is required. For example, they supply quality food and food ingredients according to customers' preferences. School trips and guided walking tours involve local communities and private agencies.

Furthermore, the Borough Market Trust supports local and branded retail units, cafés, restaurants and bars, manages and oversees trading facilities and equipment, provides signs and CCTV, designs the layout of the market and the stalls, assists in organising a community of traders, and programmes market events. It carries out on-the-spot maintenance in and around the market. The BID improves streets with murals, lighting and hanging baskets, and supports the trading and organises festivals. It also provides on-the-spot maintenance and portable rubbish bins in the streets surrounding the market.

The physical qualities of the marketplace are dictated by the land uses around the market such as the local and branded retail units, bars, cafés, and restaurants, the historic buildings in and around the market, market opening times, the effective layout of retail units and stalls, the flexible provision of formal and informal seats and gathering areas, and formal and informal covered areas for weather protection in and around the market. Physicality is related to informal and formal use in and around the covered market and produces more opportunities for visitors to extend the duration of their stay. Opening hours of the market, the cafés, bars, and retail units along the streets, and the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral, together with free use of the street, contribute to the provision of services and facilities for users. Outdoor café seats facilitate sitting at weekday lunchtimes and on Saturdays, especially in summer, thanks to the provision of informal seating on the street and in Southwark Cathedral courtyard.

The market experience incorporates sauntering with a positive feeling of comfort and pleasure from the colours, smells and sounds of quality food and ingredients, the historic buildings, friendly traders, diverse languages, and available public space and seating. Users' positive and negative perceptions indicate the pressures faced by Borough Market. Users come for the purchase of food and ingredients, lunch, business appointments, meeting friends, refreshment, and sightseeing. The market delivers a social atmosphere, historic architectural features and design, and opportunities to use and experience the market, not only for affluent people in newly developed offices and housing in the vicinity of the market but also for low-income people from the local area.

Office workers visit at weekday lunchtimes with a preference for high quality food from cafés, restaurants and market stalls, and they enjoy the social atmosphere, the aesthetic experience of being in an historic environment with availability of seating in good weather conditions.

Office workers are actively engaged in sauntering, standing and sitting in and around the market. They share the space with young local residents and regular visitors from other areas in London on weekdays, whereas the market accommodates tourists on Saturdays.

However, the high price and limited types of produce restrict access for low-income people from council housing, who are from various ethnic groups that include Asians. Lack of seating, excess litter, lack of public toilets, concerns over traffic safety, and fear of crime such as pickpockets and street drinkers, are temporal problems related to a lack of vitality on weekdays or congestion on Saturdays. Regarding the congestion caused by market users, a general lack of resources and investment to tackle the problems caused is an issue for Southwark Cathedral. Other conflicts have been caused by the plan for the railway viaduct extension to relieve rail congestion, planned events or festivals to attract tourists, and the recycling scheme, each imposed by policies developed at a higher level.

Users consider that management to ensure safety, cleanliness and vitality contributes to a longer stay by market users, and increased social activities. Borough Market Trust, a community organisation, recognises the market as a public good and an asset for the local community whilst its management practices aim to secure the long-term economic vitality of its market. It targets users who are able to afford high quality food at premium prices, and controls the quality and types of produce. The Borough Market Trust is also well aware of the opportunity presented by office workers at weekday lunchtimes to increase the economic viability and social vitality of the market. In this respect, careful management to remove temporal conflicts in specific locations is the key. Promotion, cleanliness, safety and security, are beneficial not only to market customer-based services but to the whole community. Management's drive for efficiency promotes the free flow of shoppers and reduces congestion, but sacrifices informal and public seating which are related to standing and sitting in order to encourage active engagement within the marketplace. CCTV monitors the marketplace, and security staff monitors the space and excludes homeless people from the market during busy periods. Such control measures cause segregation of low-income people in the local area and intensify the stratification of space by facilitating exclusion.

In this situation, the involvement of the public sector and a strategic approach at the local level are critical to maintain Borough Market as a local public place. The BID manages the on-going tensions between the need for public open space and the shift towards segregation and exclusion. It plays a vital role in directing management's motives relating to the economic, social and physical attributes of the market and its quality of space. The BID considers Borough

Market as open space for public use, with economic value for local businesses and a comfortable environment that creates vitality from animated activities. It also offers a focused management regime. The BID coordinates trading, seating, security guards, covered areas for weather protection, and organises festivals. It advises homeless people about when they can best use the public areas; and it negotiates local people's needs and management rights regarding ownership, especially in the case of congestion on Saturdays.

Management, however, needs a good source of investment and resources. In the case of Borough Market, revenue and subsidy from government, the market's own profits, as well as traders' fees, and levies from local businesses, cover the management costs. In addition, a strategic approach needs to be based on a vision for the future direction and development of the market. The policies imposed by the BID suggest a vision of Borough Market as a tourist attraction, which may lead to conflicts such as segregation of low income people who used to be the regular users of the market.





chapter

# 9

D i s c u s s i o n

## 9 Discussion and Analysis of the Findings from the Fieldwork Research

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### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter will review the findings from the fieldwork research in order to answer the research question:

How does market management ensure the economic viability and social vitality of inner London's traditional markets, and respond to the challenges, tensions and opportunities presented in such complex inner city environments?

In answering this question, reference will also be made to the concepts discussed in chapters 2 and 3 regarding public space, public life and the role of public space and market management. Concepts such as Carr et al. (1992)'s human dimension of public space focusing on meaning, relevance, comfort, and sense of belonging and attachment, are useful when evaluating the success of a marketplace as social public space. Gehl (1987), Jacobs (1961), and Whyte (1980) focus on the activities in public space as the lifeblood of the city, and the need for amenities like seating to enable public space users to linger and enjoy the space and the company of other users. Certainly marketplaces have greater need for attention to detail, providing amenities and seating to facilitate the social life of the market. It is important to capitalise on the fact that people come to the market to shop and can then at the same time be encouraged to linger, take part in social encounters which strengthen community bonds and create a strong community identity and sense of attachment. Carmona et al. (2008), Lynch (1981), Carr et al. (1992), and Francis (1989) focus on public space management to ensure the best use of public space for all, and to emphasise the need for its maintenance, while at the same time, complying with regulations and addressing any tensions that arise from the market activities and use of the space by the diverse set of users that make up the 'multiple publics' mentioned by Fraser (1990) and Young (1990). Finally, as Gehl (1987) has also highlighted, public space is the site of democracy and the use of public space to allow people to gather is an important aspect of public life. Markets allow this gathering while shopping, and permit lingering to enjoy the company of others, so markets still play a vital role in maintaining a healthy and democratic public realm.

These concepts that informed the research on the public life of traditional markets and thus their value to city life as a whole, structured the approach to this research with a conceptual framework based on the relationship between use, management and physicality, providing a focus on many levels for the primary fieldwork investigations as well as the research methodologies which were applied in the fieldwork such as observation, photographic studies, surveys and interviews. These concepts will also be applied to an analysis of the current research findings.

Additionally, this chapter will compare the management of the two case study markets with Petticoat Lane as an example of the state-centred management model, and Borough Market as an example of the community-centred management model, in an effort to elucidate the benefits and drawbacks of each type of management regime. In this regard, there will be a review of issues such as the quality and success of the partnership approach; the responsiveness of management to the needs of traders, customers, and the public space users; the success in dealing with challenges and tensions; and the success in grasping opportunities as they arose.

The findings were updated in February 2017, as the original fieldwork investigations had been carried out in 2009. This was done by visiting the two case study markets to see whether the environments had changed, and by conducting interviews with market managers and traders to explore their current views on market management.

An analysis of the changing national context for traditional markets also revealed that markets are now seen to be a key component of town centre regeneration schemes as they provide a unique type of shopping experience that compliments the high street shopping environment. For this reason, traditional markets are receiving further policy support from government, although the stress that local authorities are under financially suggests that this support is unlikely to be economic.

The new interviews were conducted using a checklist of topics (p. 402) and focused on key issues such as strategic vision, management partnerships, and detailed management practices. The findings from the recent interviews reinforce the overall conclusion that proactive and responsive market management determines to a very large degree the success of markets, as illustrated well by Borough Market.

## 9.2 Discussion of the Typological Analysis

In order to understand the generic character of inner London's traditional markets in terms of their current status, and the socio-economic, local, and policy contexts of their urban locations, a typological analysis was undertaken. Based on the morphology of each market's area, where uses are accommodated in relation to the existing urban form, five market types have been identified: street, covered, indoor, and private outdoor markets, and markets on borrowed non-market spaces. Considering the relationship between use, management and physicality, factors such as changes in the types of produce sold, times and frequency of market operation, and types of management, were recorded in the typological analysis to illustrate current market characteristics. The typological analysis dealt with markets in inner London, where gentrification has had the greatest impact as Butler (2003) confirmed.

Drawing on the archival research which provided information for the historical overview, and with due consideration of the social demographics of the market areas, the typological analysis supports the idea that London's markets are located in traditional public places that are evolving amid their changing urban context (see section 5.3). There are, however, some newly redeveloped private covered markets in inner London which represent a radical, planned change rather than a process of gradual or incremental adaptation or evolution.

**Table 9A. Typology with locations, types of produce and products, and times of operation in inner London <table 5A came here>**

Physical form/times of operation	Street markets	Indoor markets	Covered outdoor markets	Outdoor markets on private land	Markets on Borrowed non-market space	Totals
Daily	43(0/42/1)*	5(2/0/3)	7(2/2/3)	4(0/1/3)	4(0/2/2)	63(4/47/12)
Casual	22(0/13/9)	-	-	3(0/0/3)	14(0/2/12)	39(0/15/24)
Totals	65(0/55/10)	5(2/0/3)	7(2/2/3)	7(0/1/6)	18(0/4/14)	102(4/62/36)

\*(wholesale/general/specialist, food, farmers')(Author's own summary, 2008)

Among more than 100 inner London markets, many traditional markets have survived in the same locations for tens or hundreds of years under public and private ownership and management, regardless of their spatial type. As primary places for commerce, London's markets have developed through times of population growth and technology development since the middle ages. Times of operation and the products sold have reflected market users' lifestyles over the years.

Street markets are still the dominant type (65 out of 102 inner London's traditional markets). However, some of the street markets that have disappeared are Cutler Street, Camberwell, London Bridge, and the Arches Market. Some markets such as Chilton Street Market, Portobello Road and Battersea High Street Market have reduced their operations from daily to casual use. Nonetheless, many of inner London's traditional markets have maintained the same types of produce and times of operation (see appendix 5-1 and section 5.2).

The prevailing general street markets in daily use (42 out of 65) suggest that markets are still primarily places for economic exchange and consumption, with some specialist markets in casual use (9 out of 65). 54 out of 65 of these markets have prevailed under public ownership, and been managed by local authorities, who have a duty to maintain and manage markets as a public good (section 5.3.2).

Many of the traditional indoor, private outdoor, and covered outdoor markets (12 out of 19) have survived as specialist markets, with produce such as antiques, crafts, farm produce, and artisan foodstuffs. Newly redeveloped, private indoor or covered markets such as Covent Garden and old Spitalfields Market have been redeveloped as specialist markets for tourists and affluent middle-class people (section 5.3.3). Whereas indoor wholesale markets such as Billingsgate, Smithfield and New Covent Garden flower market are under public ownership and management, other models of market management have included community and private organisations, transferred from government. Markets on borrowed non-market spaces tend to be predominantly farmers' markets in casual use since the 1990s, and the success of these markets demonstrates the notable momentum of food and farm produce aiding a revival in London's traditional markets that have adapted to the new consumer preferences over recent decades. A private sector organisation, the London Farmers' Markets Association has supported the increase in farmers' markets (see Section 5.3.4).

These results reveal that profit-driven private sector bodies and community organisations are able to replace or create new markets, responding to affluent people's preferences and easily exploit opportunities of context, such as gentrification. Considering London's traditional markets as a public good which relies on ownership and management bodies (Neal, 2010; Judt, 2010), this exploitation may create a further threat to public markets by creating more competition.

Despite being located in public space, London's markets have not always been equitable spaces for all. The characteristics of a market's local context may have been affected by new waves of immigration as well as economic development, and mean that markets are



distinguished by greater socio-economic diversity in their user groups. This has set up a dramatic contrast between markets in eastern and western parts of London, with the dominant type of street market in east London dealing with general produce, especially in areas of economic deprivation which are more prevalent. By contrast, in west London, there are more farmers' markets that serve affluent middle-class people as Watson and Studdert (2006) confirmed (see Section 5.4). These privately managed markets tend to provide more opportunities and help to maintain an attractive atmosphere. The contrast between these market types also supports Watson and Studdert (2006)'s view that markets are spaces that cater for the differing needs of diverse user groups in the local area. Furthermore, half of the markets are still located in four boroughs near the City of London, and near or within town centres, which have good public transport connections.

In addition, changes to markets affected by gentrification may be intensified with the resultant user groups being characterised by greater socio-economic diversity. This gentrification is the result of policy decisions favouring new economic development in inner London especially around the City of London in the near future. An example of such a new policy is the designation of Opportunity Areas, which are part of the long term strategic development plans for many London boroughs. The introduction of Opportunity Areas will change the local context around the City of London (see section 5.4), and may bring benefits not only for newly created markets such as farmers' markets, but also for traditional markets if they are willing to adapt to the preferences of new users. Gentrification may invigorate shopping in traditional markets and lead to an increase in social mixing in the market's social environment.

These changes may affect local communities by increasing socio-economic diversity, according to Keddie and Tonkiss (2010)'s concept of 'gentrification without replacing working class people'. As planning policy reforms in 2012 stressed, the provision and management of public space relies on the public sector, so if markets are likely to be gentrified radically, this may bring tensions, and displacement of existing users while catering to tourists, which needs to be addressed by market management. The local authority, committed to the local community, needs to adapt to these new challenges affecting markets and the public realm.

Inner London markets are surviving because they are centrally located, are historic markets, or are in historic areas. This is an advantage of their physicality. However, they are also subject to greater use by tourists which may displace the existing local users. Market management must therefore be aware of this tension, and take measures to support both existing and new users.

Inner London is affected more by gentrification as a result of new developments which also push up land values. There are two consequences of this that affect markets. The first one is, as has been mentioned, that there are more shoppers from affluent groups who are more sophisticated with a preference for higher quality produce and products. The second consequence is that there is pressure on all land uses to perform economically. While street markets are often not located on the highest value land, there is still pressure to perform as economically viable businesses. Furthermore, markets need to address modern technology in areas such as non-cash payment methods. This will increase the traders' overhead costs so markets need to be more profitable to respond to increasing pressures from the business environment.

Street markets as a market typology are more likely to be in local authority ownership and management, but they are also more likely to be in decline. There is no definitive evidence from this research to suggest a link, but this is an interesting area for further research. The two case study markets have different systems of market management; Petticoat Lane is a street market under public sector management while Borough Market is a covered food market under community management. This investigation presents some interesting findings regarding the differences in the management outcomes for each market.

### 9.3 Discussion & Analysis of the Findings from Petticoat Lane

This section evaluates the management of Petticoat Lane. It is a street market operated by its local authority which is a public sector body that provides services for public land such as streets (see Sections 2.4.2 and 6.2.4). This section discusses how effectively the local authority responds to the pressures from market use, and as a result, how the management affects use and physicality. Table 9B shows the assessment of Petticoat Lane management. From the findings of the empirical research, it appears that Petticoat Lane management has limited strategic vision for the historic market, or its relationship with the changing local community, and displays a lack of initiative to attract traders as part of a strategic initiative. The vision for the market is narrowly focused on the market as only a local resource.

On a practical level, there appears to be a lack of understanding of the types of users and their needs, the lack of a partnership approach to market management across departments in the local council, with out-dated regulations on licences, no focus on types of product with a lack of branding, marketing and promotion, shortage of trading facilities such as car-parking, and

derelict land uses surrounding the market. There was a failure to address safety and security issues, and maintenance issues with a lack of cleaning, waste collection and general maintenance and repairs. There were limited links with community outreach to foster positive community realities, and seating and protection from weather were also found. There is a need to enhance the physical environment and address the traders' needs that have to be undertaken through their own DIY management, while there is limited funding sources and resources generally.

### 9.3.1 Strategic issues

In the case of Petticoat Lane, there is limited strategic vision for the market. The local authority regards the market as public space for low-income residents in the multi-ethnic community in the local area, and therefore recognises the market as a public open space amenity. The market is also viewed as a space for nurturing the local economy, creating jobs for people in the local area.

The local authority also identified the presence of tourists as an opportunity based on the location of the market within central London and saw the market as a potential tourist attraction (see Section 7.5.3). However, the local authority manager considered the market as a bulwark against the threat of gentrification, and only emphasised enhancing its physical and visual aspects with no emphasis on the social and economic aspects of regeneration (see section 7.5.3). The local authority had recently joined in a traditional market benchmarking group, sharing managers' experiences, knowledge, and information on London's markets, and this appeared promising in terms of revealing strategies for improving the market's economic viability.

Full-time traders are motivated to work in the market in order to make a living from market trading but they also work in other street markets in the local area, selling clothes. This is because full time traders in Petticoat Lane can no longer make a living by working only in this market. The decline in the number of active stalls needs initiatives to attract new traders. As the number of traders had decreased, the local council decided not to raise the license fees. This seemed attractive because the main reason why traders chose Petticoat Lane was its low stall fees. In fact, traders needed support for their businesses in areas such as promotion (see section 7.5.2). New initiatives to change the licensing system to allow more casual licences thereby encouraging new traders to use the market have been considered (see section 7.5.3). However, this needs strategic thinking about the traders' patterns of work and their preference with regard to the licensing system.

Table 9B. Assessment of Petticoat Lane management

Elements of the conceptual framework	Challenges arising from the fieldwork research	Management response to the challenges on use and physicality	
		Practical issues	Strategic issues
USE SOCIAL ASPECTS	Negative perception of market qualities by all users - shoppers, traders & local community	Poor management communication and link with users to establish their preferences for the market. Need for continual monitoring of use and preferences, evaluation of performance and obtaining feedback on improvements or the need for more improvements.	Lack of understanding of changing context, types of shoppers and the shopping patterns, types of traders and the trading patterns
	Welcoming atmosphere from friendly traders	Traders left to represent the market to users but given little support	There appear to be poor communications amongst all stakeholders. The management does not seem to understand who needs to communicate with whom, or is ineffectual in establishing an effective communications network
	Patterns of use of the market: Multi-ethnic women, families and elderly people on weekdays and Sundays/ Office workers and university students at weekday lunchtimes/ Tourists on Sunday	Management needs to cater more to the needs of the various users, mainly by providing amenities such as seating and toilet facilities. Enhancement of the market environment with landscaping, planting, etc would also improve the marketplace and make it more welcoming	Management is suffering from a lack of resources and investment to establish an effective management system Investment and funding are required as well as a more holistic approach to market management
USE ECONOMIC ASPECTS (trading)	Decrease in active market stalls	Weak management response to the decline in the number of traders and stall licences. No initiatives or incentives to encourage new traders to use the market	Weak skills in the monitoring and evaluation of market conditions such as trading environment for traditional markets
	1. need for more flexible stall tenure arrangements and licences	There are casual and permanent licences, but some flexibility is needed in this system to encourage new traders, and to support existing traders.  There is also the issue of illegal trading on the day when the market is closed - Saturdays - with no enforcement of the trading regulations in this regard.	Strict compliance with regulations in some areas, as dictated by policies
MARKET TRADING ENVIRONMENT: Licenses and trading facilities	2. parking space, trading facilities and congestion charge set by the GLA is affecting traders' access to the marketplace, increasing their costs, and forcing them to look for markets in other areas that are outside the congestion zone area	The traders have received no feedback on their request for assistance with the costs of the congestion charge. This is affecting the traders' ability to attend the market on a regular basis  Lack of parking and facilities - problems for visibility of the market due to vehicles obstructing the views	Management is showing a lack of knowledge of the wider political environment in which policies are set that may impact the market
	1. the current product range does not draw shoppers as cheap clothes can be obtained on any high street  quality control of products is needed in Borough Market as this is necessary for food produce.	Management has given limited consideration to the need for an updated product range and against new products such as farm produce, antiques or flowers  No consideration/ traders' self-refunding system	Management shows a limited vision and lack of understanding of the traditional market as a special retail type, and the need for a more focused product range that is not directly competing with high street discount shops
	2. limited marketing, branding, and external communication by management on behalf of the traders who have requested this  The traders make their own hand written signs which are temporary	No dedicated website for the market itself, only a section on the council's website. No place for shoppers, traders and general users feedback or comments on their experience of the market	Lack of experience of promoting and advertising a market to the wider community using the internet or social media Management focuses on strict compliance with regulations
Accessibility	3. delayed maintenance	Fragmented maintenance and operations	Lack of planning with a strategic partnership approach
	1. Access from transport nodes , main streets – no gateways for weekdays lunchtime trade	No consideration/ fragmented management and operations	Lack of understanding uses and needs
	2. Provision of signage – signs, banners and mural	off from main street, not visible -> plan for signs for visitors	Funds available and priority to accessibility
	3. fixed layout of market stalls for ease of movement But vacant stalls left empty giving the impression of a market in decline	No consideration	Strict compliance of regulations regarding the number of stalls, licences, etc with no regard about how the market appears to users. Sign of ineffective, uncritical management
	4. fixed opening days and hours for access But different number of active stalls on different days	No consideration	Strict compliance of regulations
	5. Layout of stalls and display and market appearance	Plans for banners and murals	
	6. Poor cleaning and waste collection	at the wrong times/ fragmented maintenance and operation	priority to accessibility and plans to improve this
	7. No patrolling, security guard and CCTV in opening hours and traders' natural surveillance	Fragmented maintenance and operation	priority to accessibility and plans to improve this

Table 9B. Assessment of Petticoat Lane management (continued)

Elements of the conceptual framework	Challenges arising from the fieldwork research	Management response to the challenges on use and physicality	
		Practical issues	Strategic issues
Surrounding land uses	1 Derelict retail units selling African textiles and cheap clothes Cafes and restaurants provide market amenities such as seats and toilets	No consideration  Consideration of subsidy	Need to build a good relationship with local businesses
	1 lack of signage along access routes  2 more effective layout is needed of market stalls to remove empty and vacant stalls that give an impression of neglect and a failing market location of operating stalls and location of vacant stalls as mentioned above is an issue affecting traders' morale as well	plan for signs, banners and murals  Management does not seem to appreciate the effect of vacant and empty stalls on the appearance of the market, and on the perceptions of shoppers, the traders themselves and the local community	priority to accessibility  Need for pro-active management to address these types of issues which create tensions in the marketplace
Legibility	3 opening hours and opening days in the week with Sundays as the busiest day - this impacts both traders and shoppers	No full-time traders any longer as they cannot make a living so they work in the market part-time. The busiest times are now weekday lunchtimes for food stalls and vans, and the long standing Sunday market	The local authority needs the income from trading licences but does not invest enough in the market to improve the marketplace or support the trading environment
	4 special events in or around the market The market appears to be included on conducted walks but these appear to happen on the day when the market is closed so that there is no benefit for the traders This could actually give a poor impression of the market if the area is litter strewn and untidy	One-time event by local cultural facility  Little recognition of this disconnect by management, or an inability to address the issue to coordinate events, during the study period. However, there appears to be a Plan for a Sunday market trail	Lack of link to a local community  As a result of the fragmented responsibilities for maintenance and market operations, and their is little coordination of services and activities by market management
	1 Seating (Cafe outdoor seats, benches, informal seating)	Control for people's ease of movement -> Plan for Sunday food stalls with seating	Strict compliance of regulations
	2 Limit provision of protection from weather	These are provided by either the traders around their stalls, or by the retail shop owners, or cafes alongside the market  Management needs to take action to provide covered gathering spaces	Management appears to have limited appreciation of the requirements in contemporary society for a comfortable shopping environment, even in a street market  Publicly provided covered gathering spaces need to be provided as a pro-active aspect of market management.
Amenities	3 lack of amenities like public toilets so the shoppers have to use the facilities provided by the cafe owners	The cafe toilets are used by shoppers on weekdays. Management has developed a plan for subsidising the cafe owners for use of these facilities, but this has not yet been implemented	There is a lack of funding, and management appears to be responding on an ad hoc basis to the events happening in the market without having a business and operating plan to address the ongoing needs of the market

Source: author's own summary

Fragmented management of the market and maintenance operations were found within the local authority. The management and maintenance responsibilities for the market are spread across several departments in Tower Hamlets council such as Market Services, Trading Standards, Consumer Services, Street Management, the Environmental Health Department, Food Safety, Parking Controls, Tower Hamlets Highways Management, and Parks, Utility companies are also involved in market management and operations. The City of London Corporation is also engaged in its management and maintenance, in areas such as cleaning, maintenance, lighting, and operation of public toilets for the Sunday market. Transport for London (TfL) and the Metropolitan Police are involved is related to the maintenance of roads, organising street works, and policing anti-social behaviour in the local area around Petticoat Lane (see sections 6.2.4 and 7.4). The communication within the local authority is fragmented and ineffective, with a slow communication process, or slow response to operational and maintenance problems (see section 7.5.2).

The management's communication with traders, local businesses and the community also seemed to be poor. The local authority was supposed to hold regular meetings with traders' representatives but this did not often happen due to the lack of resources. Traders presented their issues through their representatives from the Street Market Traders' Association (see Section 7.5.2), while the local authority intended to communicate with local community groups but failed to do so (see Section 7.5.3).

Funding sources are regulated and limited by law (London Local Authority Act 1990), so income for the market relies only on market traders' stall fees (see Section 6.2.4). The council derives a good source of income from selling trading licences so they do not want to lose this source of income. Accordingly, the council needs to invest in the market to revive trading. However, decreasing numbers of traders and the decision to freeze stall fees may work as it is the main reason for traders to come (see section 7.5.2), but led directly to a decrease in income and left the market with no investment funding (see section 7.5.3).

### 9.3.2 Practical issues

Petticoat Lane sells cheap clothes that attract people but customers' primary concern is for quality and value for money, and a wide range of products, although the low price is preferred by its local residents and visitors (see Section 7.5.2). However, the local authority limited their management role to the provision of market space for trading, and management is not involved in considering the types, range and quality of products, or marketing and branding;



there is no website for Petticoat Lane which would be beneficial for branding and promotion, and this is left to the traders (see section 7.5.3).

This leads to a lack of understanding about the types of shoppers and their preferences. The lack of understanding about the changing local context, especially the influence of gentrification, along with the limited management vision, and the belief that the market should serve only low-income and ethnic people creates a situation where Petticoat Lane has not introduced new products such as farm produce, antiques or flowers and has continued to decline. The patterns of shoppers' using the market revealed that the Sunday market serves shoppers with families, the elderly, and tourists, while the weekday market serves office workers and university students at weekday lunchtimes (see section 7.2). The declining weekday market suggested that the market needs to change, either back to a Sunday only market, or to a weekday lunchtime market where food is welcomed and new traders are introduced.

From the fieldwork observations, the market appears to be fairly safe and traders' presence plays a role acting as natural surveillance (see sections 6.2.4 and 7.4). However, users of the market regard the Metropolitan Police's attention to safety and security as inadequate and the fear of crime in the marketplace (see section 7.5.2), which was historically infamous for pickpockets and theft (see Section 6.2.1), is high.

Cleaning and waste collection were carried out daily as a matter of routine but this was done at the wrong times; for example, the last collection was made before the market had closed in the early evenings on weekdays, so that litter was strewn across the marketplace making it look untidy until the next collection the following morning (see sections 7.5.2 and 7.4). This uncoordinated scheduling suggested ineffective maintenance caused by fragmented market management, requiring better coordination of services. The repair of a broken toilet was delayed for a long time due to the lack of resources and the fragmented management (see Section 7.5.2). However, moves were being put in place to establish a strategic team in the council for cleaning, waste collection and maintenance (see Section 7.5.3). As of 2017, this was still in the planning stage.

In addition to the 54 cafe seats and benches available on weekdays, informal seating in the market was provided by street kerbs, vacant stalls, and edges of planters on Sundays (see Sections 7.2). On Sundays in summer, slack space was used around the market for seating and gathering areas. However, the market seems to lack available tables and chairs for eating, especially on Sundays when the market is larger and busier, whereas there are adequate seats

on weekday lunchtimes (see Section 7.5.2). Petticoat Lane also needs public toilets and protection from the weather (see Section 7.5.2). The management planned outdoor seats for customers of the food vans (see section 7.5.3).

In Petticoat Lane, enhancing the environment for customers involved micro-management carried out by the traders themselves (see section 7.4), responding to each event that occurred or each tension that arose (see section 7.2), in a way that they deem acceptable. The manager seemed to respond after the fact to these situations. This suggested that, if the official management did not respond to their needs, then traders undertook the required actions themselves, such as producing hand written signage. This had also resulted in the traders not bothering to consult management, just doing things themselves. The layout of the market stalls was not well monitored by management so that vacant stalls were often left in place (see Section 7.5.2), which demoralised the other traders, making customers perceive the market as in decline, and looking unattractive (see section 7.5.2).

Furthermore, the lack of traders' parking spaces and the number of parked vehicles around the boundary of the market caused visual obstruction so that the market was not always visible (see sections 7.2 and 7.3). The need for better communication and a more formal understanding of traders' needs and creative thinking about these arrangements was very obvious, and perhaps some resources could be made available that the traders could use to assist them. Lack of parking spaces were addressed by traders (see section 7.5.2), which was one of the plans developed by the local authority (see section 7.5.3).

In Petticoat Lane, the daily fluctuation in the number of traders and illegal trading on Saturdays, flouts the regulations (see sections 6.2.4 and 7.4). The tactics of the weak, as De Certeau (1984) has stated, can usurp the power of authority, so the traders acted to satisfy their own needs, especially in the absence of effective management. The local authority attempts to exercise strict application of regulations, especially on times of operation and pitch locations (see Section 7.4), and it may enforce full-time traders' presence in order to prevent vacancy of stalls which is unattractive and creates a negative impression, whilst also protecting the rights of traders as a whole. However, from the fieldwork observations, the local authority is not successful as there are vacant stalls and empty pitches on a regular basis.

Additionally, full-time Petticoat Lane traders cannot make a living any longer by working in the market (see Section 7.5.2), so they also have to work in other street markets. However, they need to keep a good attendance record to maintain a permanent licence in Petticoat Lane and they attempt to do this as the Sunday market is very profitable. This illustrates two points with

regard to the inflexible licence and stall tenure system: the permanent licence rules should be made more flexible, appreciating the fact that traders now need to work in other markets; and the Sunday licence rules should be delinked from the permanent licence to allow traders to work only in the Sunday market. This might also encourage new traders. Attendance in the market should be used as a way of monitoring and evaluating market performance rather than tying traders to a declining market. The regulations on opening days and the licensing system appeared out-dated regarding this weekday trading pattern. Every effort should be made to adapt the licence system to the 21st century situation.

The local authority developed a strategy, focusing on enhancing the physical and visual aspects of the market by placing banners on street lights, and a mural at the exit of the local tube stations for visitors and tourists to see, highlighting the location of the market (see section 7.5.3), although it was not a top priority for users (see section 7.5.2). However, in Petticoat Lane, the local authority struggled with a lack of resources and investment to collect data on market use and users' perceptions in order to decide upon relevant strategies, actions, and maintenance (see Section 7.5.3). The lack of monitoring and awareness of patterns of use led to inappropriate actions such as placing the newly installed banners at the wrong gateway entrance to the market (see Sections 7.5.2 and 7.5.3). Additionally, the lack of coordination of management efforts resulted in the failure to connect with the Town Trail walks through the area that highlight the cultural attractions in the borough such as the Whitechapel Art Gallery (see Section 7.2 and 7.4).

### 9.3.3 Reactive management

Management of Petticoat Lane reveals reactive management by the local authority, which is not effective or responsive to use and needs. Petticoat Lane is declining with 45-78% of stalls unused on weekdays. Even on Sunday, the number of stalls registered (254 stalls) is considerably lower than the 1,000 stalls expecting in the 1970s. Although it remains an inclusionary space, especially with regard to multi-ethnic groups, many of its previous users no longer choose to use the space. Without positive management intervention, Petticoat Lane, particularly the weekday market, will not survive.

In recognition of the financial importance of the market to local authority income, the local council was preparing a strategic plan for the Sunday market for tourists. It had included improvements in maintenance, signs, banners, outdoor seats for customers of the food vans, and specific types of produce acceptable to tourists. In fact, users' perceptions indicate that some management practices including the placement of signage, banners and the mural have

created a better market environment. People were willing to spend longer in Petticoat Lane after the management-led changes to the market spaces.

However, more needs to be done to adapt the product offering to encourage more shoppers and tourists to use the market. Neither the use of the market, with an inappropriate and out-dated product range, nor the physicality of the marketplace with an unkempt and poorly managed market environment, contribute to a positive market experience. The relationship between use, physicality and management is dysfunctional.

### 9.3.4 2017 update of market management in Petticoat Lane

Interviews were undertaken with the market manager and three traders. Management does not have a clear vision for the future development of Petticoat Lane, although the manager is aware of the changes to the local area and the challenges this presents, including the urgency of adapting the market to sell new types of products. There is also a lack of branding, marketing and promotion. There is improvement in safety and security, signage, and cleaning and waste collection, but community events, seating, public toilets and protection from the weather still rely on traders' DIY management. The lack of good management practices persist, and reinforce the negative perceptions of Petticoat Lane as a market in decline.

The local area around Petticoat Lane has changed since 2009. Morphologically, the social housing near Wentworth Street has been demolished and new private residential units have been built, resulting in an influx of private residents. New high-rise buildings were built for university and student accommodation. Along the street, some African textile retail units have been replaced by new cafés selling artisan food. Since 2009, the market's management has expanded the street food market with additional seating, signs for tourists, the cleaning, waste collection, and extra security patrols.

Market Services in Tower Hamlets council currently manages 12 street markets in the borough, along with other departments in the council. The market manager has changed twice since the original fieldwork investigations in 2009. The current manager, who had previously worked for the community in Hackney council, was appointed in 2016.

#### **Strategic issues**

1. On-going change and a new strategic plan

The manager accepted that traditional general markets continue to decline due to changing shopping habits, suggesting that they need to adapt to survive. Also Petticoat Lane is not a community market any more and neither is it attracting tourists in large numbers. Instead the local area around Petticoat Lane continues to be strongly influenced by overwhelming gentrification pressures that are still not being reflected in a long-term strategy for the market.

In summary, it appears that management still does not have a clear vision for Petticoat Lane and needs a better understanding of the new users' needs in the local area. The local authority's new strategic plan for the borough's traditional markets is to be published in May 2017 and includes Petticoat Lane along with 11 other street markets and this may start to address these concerns.

## 2. Limited partnership

The council communicates with traders and the traders' association more frequently through newsletters, twitter, and face-to-face meetings on an irregular and informal basis.

Communication with traders has improved, but the market management needs to communicate with other stakeholders in the local area. It needs to involve local community groups and local businesses to understand their needs so that this can be incorporated into the market's strategic vision and the building of strong community relationships.

Stall fees are the only income and funding source for Petticoat Lane although the manager said that the local authority offered Petticoat Lane funds for public space from Section 106 monies. Furthermore, the manager works with a shortage of staff and ineffective use of human resources in his department. The market management department has ten to twenty staff to manage 12 markets, but many of these are temporary employees. Petticoat Lane is clearly under-resourced.

## Practical issues

### 1. Types of products have changed little

Petticoat Lane is a clothing market but street food is encouraged now. The council controls the types of products sold within their group of markets. Not all products are accepted for some markets. Therefore new traders that have been vetted through face-to-face interviews are allocated to a market that sells the same range of goods.

The manager identified that the types of products such as cheap clothing and shoes offered in Petticoat Lane no longer serve customers in the catchment area which has been gentrified. The manager added that office workers come for food but they don't buy other products. Clothing traders also said that their main customers are Africans and not office workers as the street food market attracts mostly male office workers who do not shop for clothes or goods in the market. The council has requested that traders offer new types of products, but the manager said that they resisted.

Accordingly, Petticoat Lane needs to introduce new products and recruit new traders. The council has a plan to expand the food market to both sides of the street on weekdays, and is considering the introduction of a farmers' market or a continental market in Petticoat Lane in their strategic plan being launched in May. A plan for a new more adaptable market seems to be emerging but progress is very slow and there has been little change since the previous fieldwork in 2009.

#### 1) No marketing and branding

Management still provides no marketing or branding for the market. The manager encourages traders to use their twitter accounts to advertise their stalls in the market, but offers little more advice on the issue.

Although the manager is aware of the importance of marketing and branding, the manager said that the description of market management responsibilities set out in the London Local Authorities Act 1991 stipulates only the provision of cleaning, safety, security, and arranging of trading space, and does not include marketing and branding. For the traders, however, the most critical support they need is advertising of the market which they feel should be done by management for the market as a whole. Marketing that relies on traders' DIY management in Petticoat Lane is clearly not working.

#### 2) Stall fees and trading facilities

The manager identified that a decline in trading is the greatest challenge for Petticoat Lane. The manager tried to attract new traders by subsidizing or offering free and casual licenses. However, new traders do not want to hire stalls because the market is so clearly in decline.

The provision of trading facilities depends on traders' DIY management. The manager is also aware of storage needs, supply of stalls, and provision of parking space for traders and protection from the weather as critical needs for traders, but admitted that facilitating them is



not easy because the market is located on the street which is public land. Although traders' vehicles parked in streets block visibility of the food market, the manager said that the council struggles to provide traders with parking spaces. However, if storage could be made available in derelict retail or other units owned by the council, then traders would not need to drive to work, will not need parking, and will not have their vehicles blocking views of the market. This type of creative thinking to solve the major problems of Petticoat Lane will also help the long-term sustainability of the market but this is not occurring.

## 2. Accessibility

Since 2010, times of cleaning and waste collection have been improved as have the times of police patrolling leading to improvements in perceptions of safety and security. Signs have been improved along access routes from public transport and tourist attractions. Nonetheless, practices to further improve the perception of safety and security are still requested. Traders welcomed the improvements but said they still find issues such as pickpockets on Sunday.

The Congestion Charge Zone is still a barrier for the traders by increasing their costs to do business in the market, and this is recognized by the manager. Traders prioritised the Congestion Charge Zone exemption for themselves, with provision of parking space for their main customers, African groups who come to the market by car. Given that this is impractical and unsustainable in an inner London borough with good public transport links, this seems to reinforce the need for the market to change to serve its new customers in a changing local community.

## 3. Changes to surrounding land uses

Some of the retail shops along the street are still selling African textiles, shoes or clothing and these owners are also market traders. Some local businesses along the streets have also changed into restaurants and artisan cafes. However, the retail owners are not positive about the future of Petticoat Lane. The new retail shop owners are not engaged in the market activity as they are closed during the Sunday market opening hours.

The manager understands the connection between the market and the surrounding land uses, although there is no communication with these local businesses to identify their needs. This reinforces the lack of leadership as the manager is not attempting to adapt the market to suit the new economic environment in the surrounding streets.

#### 4. Spatial, temporal and social legibility

With regard to spatial legibility, all pitches are still set out as before, and no flexibility to the layout is available, although there are more vacant stalls on specific days. Although the layout of the stalls is designated to allow for physical access, this does not deal with the problem of vacant stalls and pitches which continues to give the market an unattractive appearance, and exacerbates the sense of decline resulting in a negative perception of spatial legibility. The manager and traders are not aware of this, but if traders were allowed to occupy stalls side by side, to give the market a vibrant and focussed core, then the presence of vacant stalls would not be so apparent.

With regard to temporal legibility, no strategies responding to the different temporal patterns of use have been considered. The manager understands that traders have different temporal needs, but argues that the council needs to consider the schedule of its other departments such as cleaning, waste collection, maintenance, etc. in determining the operation of the market. This shows again an apparent lack of a viable market strategy that considers all stakeholders.

With regard to social legibility, community events are only organized in an ad hoc manner by local people such as a local church offering a choir-performance. Management has no plan to hold or sponsor community activities or events in the market to support its economic and social vitality as well as nurturing community identity and cohesion. Management practices neglect this aspect of the market, which contributes to negative perceptions.

#### 5. Market amenities for the street food market

Benches, outdoor café seats and informal seats are offered for seating. However, as new cafes and restaurants are replacing the existing units and they do not open on Sundays, much of the previously available outdoor café seating has disappeared on Sundays (eight outdoor café seats on Sunday). Additional seating is planned by market management, but only in association with the extension of the street food market on weekdays.

Traders suggested that working public toilets be made available for both the weekday and the Sunday market. However, the manager has rejected this idea because of concerns over vandalism. Furthermore, the lack of protection from the weather interrupts trading; for example, only eight clothing stalls were active on a very windy Thursday. The manager is aware of this, but no improvements have been planned. Traders also said that this is not a top priority. The decreasing number of seats and issues relating to public toilets and protection

from the weather suggest that market amenities that rely on traders' DIY management solutions have not improved and have in fact declined.

The update on the market management of Petticoat Lane strengthens the view that management provided by this local authority is reactive and not responsive to local market needs. There is still no strategic vision, a lack of partnership and leadership, and limited on-site day to day management. The types of products are still under consideration. No plans for marketing and branding have been made, and plans to attract traders and provide trading facilities are limited. The layout of stalls, opening days and hours, and community events have not been considered in relation to legibility, and seating, public toilets and protection from the weather in relation to market amenities.

All these challenges still rely on traders and their DIY management solutions. The improvements that have occurred focus on cleaning and waste collection, police patrolling and better signage; however, change is too slow and more long-term planning leading to proactive responses to the current market situation is clearly required.

## 9.4 Discussion & Analysis of the Findings from Borough Market

Borough Market is owned and managed by a community organisation, the Borough Market Trust (BMT), but it shares the management with the Business Improvement District group (BID), as a semi-public sector entity acting on behalf of the local authority, and in accordance with national policies for town centre markets which encourage Town Centre Management (TCM) (see Sections 2.4.2 and 6.3.4). This section assesses the quality of community management in Borough Market. Table 9C shows the assessment of Borough Market management. It examines how effectively the management responded to issues, and its effect on patterns of use in and around the market.

The management approach is discussed in relation to the strategic vision for the market and its relationship with the local community and tourists. Other practical issues for market management concern the strategy regarding the various types of market users and their needs, the provision of high quality food in and around the market along with its promotion and marketing, and provision of trading facilities. Further, there are enhancement of the market layout, over-management for safety and security, on-the-spot cleaning, waste

collection, general maintenance for greater accessibility, flexible opening days with flexible stall licences for the covered market site, and community activities, the provisioning seating and protection from the weather, a multi-member management partnership with diverse sources of funding and investment.

#### 9.4.1 Strategic issues

The community organisation, the Borough Market Trust (BMT) is well aware of the social agenda for historic traditional markets as a public good within the public realm with the need to protect accessibility and availability. Borough Market was also identified in the local economy for creating jobs (see Section 8.5.3). In addition, the London government, the GLA, designated Borough Market as a strategic market for tourists (see Section 2.4.2). This vision has had an impact on Borough Market, which sponsors festivals and events for tourists, organised by the BID in the local area. Therefore, at the strategic level, the market appears to have a workable and convincing vision and an effective management partnership that is driving the market's success.

The BMT is especially motivated to serve local communities, and has strong aspirations for the economic viability of the market, preparing a strategic plan arranged in phases (see section 6.3.2). It is also an example of how a retail and wholesale market can share a public space, with the time dimension being the critical factor allowing this. The new rhythms of the market developed out of its new patterns of activity, and are therefore distinctive and different to most public markets.

Borough Market is an example of the benefits of a strategic multi-member partnership and this increases the resources that can be brought to bear on market needs - not only in terms of funding, but in the number of people and range of expertise that can be focused on the challenges and opportunities. Borough Market also takes advantage of its location near the River Thames and beside the Tate Modern gallery, and has undertaken some events in partnership with its neighbours (see sections 8.2 and 8.4). The Market Trust's communication with its stakeholders, local businesses and market traders also supports its partnership, with regular face-to-face meetings, and newsletters for information and feedback (see Section 8.5.3).

Borough Market has access to resources and funding. Diverse sources of income and resources are available such as public funding as a charity, stall fees from market traders, and other income such as selling shopping bags and books. All of these funds are invested in the market.

It received funding from the LDA for market refurbishment and this was used to support the market's role in the local economy and for job creation (see section 6.3.4). Funding was also received from TFL as a result of the rail extension. Resources are available via the BID and Southwark Cathedral as members of the Trust board, although the Cathedral would like some payment for maintenance of the facilities it allows Borough Market customers to use - the courtyard and toilets (see section 8.5.3). Despite its income, a general lack of resources reduces the effectiveness of the partnership, and, for example the BMT would not always attend meetings which hampered communication (see section 8.5.3).

## 9.4.2 Practical issues

Since the decision was taken to open a local food retail market, quality control has been undertaken regularly, which is much more important when cooked food is the market product (see Section 6.3.4). The market has also diversified the types of produce sold to address everyday shopping needs (see section 8.4). Borough Market Trust is also sensitive to changing user patterns of activities as well as the arrival of new users with their preferences for different products, such as the increase in office workers at weekday lunchtimes (see section 8.5.3). Gentrification has affected this market much more and the prices and products have been upgraded, leading to local residents from the council housing no longer being able to afford the prices (see section 8.5.2). However, Borough Market is a good example of how a market has made a major adaptation to specialist retail use. With more upmarket land uses around the market attracting footfall, there is a synergy between these land uses and the market itself (see sections 8.2, 8.3, 8.5.2 and 8.5.3), while Borough Market has become a distinct district. Borough Market also has a multi-media branding programme with its own website providing updated information on the market and upcoming events, as well as banners, branded shopping bags, and books on the market's history (see section 8.4). According to its strategic plan, there was a temporary market and events which were introduced on Saturdays initially. BMT decided to facilitate trading facilities such as storage in the covered market site and provide designed stalls, and flexible opening days with a flexible licence system.

BMT offers lease and casual licences and allows the market to extend the opening days, which benefits traders who focus on their business expansion and their need for flexible conditions of work (see sections 8.4 and 8.5.2). Opening days are flexible so that traders do not have to attend every day (see Section 8.4). As a permanent covered marketplace, this casual use may suggest underuse. However, the flexibility is effective to attract traders as stall or shop holders from the local areas, with job training and work experience opportunities. Regarding the high

Table 9C. Assessment of Borough Market management

Elements of the conceptual framework	Challenges arising from the fieldwork research	Management response to the challenges on use and physicality	
		Practical issues	Strategic issues
USE SOCIAL ASPECTS	Positive perception of market qualities- shoppers, traders & local community, except low-income people	Continually nurturing positive relationship with shoppers with positive communication, monitoring, evaluation and feedback	Difficult to balance serving a diverse community, with all classes of users. Need to think about incentive or subsidy schemes for low income local residents
	Welcoming atmosphere from friendly traders	supported by management with website for their community and communication	There appear to be good communications amongst all stakeholders through face-to-face meetings on the site, newsletters for continual monitoring of use and preferences, evaluation of performance and obtaining feedback
	Patterns of use of the market: Multi-ethnic women, families and elderly people on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays Office workers at weekday lunchtimes Tourists on Saturdays Active management communication and link with diverse users established their economic and social preferences for the market	Congestion on Saturdays a difficult problem to deal with. BID addressing waste and litter issues. Seating and amenities are still required	Use of resources, security staff, to report problems  Limited sources of funding for investment despite funding from government and resource from partnership
USE ECONOMIC ASPECTS	Increase in active market stalls with a strategic business plan with phases and land uses near the market		Understanding of changing context, types of shoppers and the shopping patterns, types of traders and the trading patterns
MARKET TRADING ENVIRONMENT: Licenses and trading facilities	1 flexible stall tenure arrangements with lease and casual licence	Congestion due to more sitting and standing around the market	Strategic thinking about the market trading environment with forward planning for training and employment, cultivating new traders
	2 high level public transport policy affecting access to the marketplace		
	3 facilities for traders such as parking, storage, resting space and training incentives to encourage new traders to use the market		
Types of products	4 on-the-spot maintenance	Need to rearrange of trading space and change a business plan	Need of knowledge of the wider political environment, and communication for securing funding for the changes
	1 high quality food and ingredients with active management response following a decision for a food market with the existing old wholesale market	Good attention to the requirements for a clean and safe environment	Need to consider a wide range of types and price of products, and to be sensitive to local community
	quality control process of products is important as a food market	Serving target users who can afford	Strategic thinking and forward planning seem evident
Accessibility	2 creation of marketing and branding idea, using market's own website, media, events, own designed shopping bags and history books, and partnership with local gallery	Associated with high price	Strategic approach to the local historic and cultural contexts
	1 gateways and exits for access from main streets, transport nodes and historic spaces of tourist attractions	Attempt to keep up to date with new communications methods and media	
	2 Signs from public transport and main streets	Creates legibility for the market for all users	
	3 Layout of market stalls for ease of movement, leaving no room for free seating regarding congestion	Continual enhancement of the public realm and marketplace	
	4 opening hours and days to extend in the week reflecting traders' patterns, and extending opening days as lunchtime market	Responsive to new users and their patterns of use	
	5 Display, designed stalls, coverings and historic features of market appearance	Attempt to respect the historic nature of the market and its environment	
	6 On-the-spot cleaning and waste collection	More often than opening hours and days in and around the market with the BID, and keep positive perception of the market	
	7 Frequent patrolling, security guard and CCTV control	More often than opening hours and days, and keep homeless people out of the marketplace in response to users' fear of crime	



Table 9C. Assessment of Borough Market management (continued)

Elements of the conceptual framework	Challenges arising from the fieldwork research	Management response to the challenges on use and physicality	
		Practical issues	Strategic issues
Surrounding land uses	Upmarket land uses around the market to attract footfall in adaptation of market trading and development as a market district	Good synergy between market and surrounding businesses and land uses	Strategic partnership with BMT, BID, Southwark Cathedral, and local community groups working to make the market a positive environment
Legibility	1. signage (signs, flowers, banners and murals for access from transport nodes and community boards for access routes to link with a local community) through partnership with BID	In and around the market with the BID	
	2. location of operating stalls and vacant stalls, arranging in clusters and providing space for seating		
	3. casual opening days and hours for positive perception of the market	From Thursday to Saturday	Strategic plan with phases to develop trading
	4. special events and festivals in or around the market  inclusion of market on conducted walks such as school trips and tourist trails to link with a local community, coordinated on a less busy day but causing segregation of regular market users	through partnership with BID, or community events to link with a local community/ No effective coordination between BID and BMT  BMT- coordination of publicity tours on days when the market is not so busy enhances the market experience for everyone	Different visions between BID (as a local community market) and BMT (as a tourist attraction)  Strategic thinking and forward planning seem evident
Amenities	1. as a food market, provision of seating (Cafe outdoor seats, benches, informal seats) in streets and courtyard of a local church through partnership with BID and the church	Safety issues regarding the traffic in streets, and the tendency for users to use the streets for informal seating, standing while eating and socialising – Traffic-free zone planned by BID, but delayed negotiating the conflicts between local residents and businesses	Partnership approach with the BID, local businesses and church
	2. provision of protection from weather such as coverings in a parking lot  This is useful for both shoppers and trader, and facilitates trading in all weather conditions	Provided by BMT  BID needs to improve railway bridges as covered area	Partnership approach with the BID
	24. public toilets and baby change provided by a local church through partnership	Maintenance issues for the church requiring additional funding	lack of funding and negotiation skill, solved through partnership with the BID

source: author's own summary

Table 9C. Assessment of Borough Market management (continued)

stall fees in Central London, this market offers small start-ups a fair level of fees and a fair rent for lease holders (see section 8.5.3). It also increased the numbers of part-time employees who benefit from work experience in the market (see section 8.5.2).

Cleanliness was demanded historically in Borough Market (see section 6.3.1). Cleaning, waste collection, and repairs were arranged on-the-spot in and around the market (see section 8.4), but litter strewn streets on Saturdays when the market is busy and congested is a problem (see Section 8.5.2). Borough Market has an attractive appearance with historic features and signage in and around the market. Safety is not a top priority for users, but they mention fear of crime (see section 8.5.2). CCTV monitoring and frequent security staff patrols keep homeless people out of the marketplace in response to users' fear of crime (see section 8.5.3). The BMT also organises community events, school trips and cultural activities to build a positive relationship with community, using its cultural context with other tourist destinations and historic attractions.

In Borough Market, consumption is the main activity, so sitting and socialising, especially on Saturdays, is not an option as the market is too congested. However, the overflow area or slack space is used regularly for eating and resting and the parking area is used as a trading/market area on Saturdays (see sections 8.2 and 8.3). The availability of seats is important for the food market (see section 8.5.2). The BID allows informal seating and provides free tables and chairs to enable users to linger in the market, helping to foster social vitality in the streets around the market (see Section 8.5.3). In addition to 80 cafe seats and benches, 107 informal seats on Friday and 177 informal seats on Saturday are provided in summer (see section 8.3). Borough Market is good at arranging stalls in clusters so unused, or potentially vacant, stalls are not left standing vacant to create a negative impression (see section 8.4).

However, management needs to face on-going challenges. In the streets surrounding the market, the BID's own security staffs try to educate the homeless about not becoming a threat to market shoppers, and relocate them (see section 8.5.3). This is an example of management dealing with potentially harmful behaviour that might affect the prospects of the market. Although the BID supports resources for cleaning the streets and the cathedral courtyard, this on-going issue suggests overuse beyond the market's capacity (see section 8.5.3). Furthermore, Borough Market is a good example of how high level policy has affected the market and how the market adapted to the changes (see Section 8.5.3). The rail extension above the market was a critical threat to its survival and the market was redesigned as a result.

The micro-management approach of the BID encourages what they see as positive behaviours, albeit informally, but controls are imposed if activities are seen to be getting out of hand. Safety and maintenance issues were raised regarding the streets and the local church courtyard relating to its overuse on Saturdays. The provision of temporary seating and maintenance resources can support an inclusive environment, making it effective for informal encounters and social interaction. Borough Market also coordinates school trips, walking trails to cultural attractions, and media filming on the less busy days (see section 8.4). Nonetheless, events and festivals for visitors and tourists, organised by the BID, especially on Saturdays, have caused congestion and have led some regular market users to abandon the market on busy days (see sections 8.5.2).

### 9.4.3 Proactive management

Management practices at Borough Market result in public space, which is safe, secure, attractive and vital. The practices reveal effective, responsive and proactive management. They adapt to changes over time. To promote a 'positive' social market environment, the Borough Market Trust works hard to reduce the inconvenience of shopping, any fear of crime, and to provide market qualities that offer psychological comfort, attractiveness and legibility that encourage acceptable behaviours. Borough Market identifies affluent people as target users of the market, and controls the quality, types and price of produce according to strict regulations.

In fact, users' perceptions indicate that the management promotes a positive social market environment. There have undoubtedly been improvements in the markets' social atmosphere, the aesthetic experience, quality and types of products and the safety and cleanliness of the marketplace. But the market has suffered from exclusion of local ethnic residents living in the surrounding council housing. This suggests that the market has become irrelevant for their everyday shopping needs, although it is still attractive for the cultural attraction it offers for events or festivals.

This also results in space that is exclusionary, and, arguably, privatised to some degree. The commercial success of the market comes at a cost, especially in relation to congestion so that activities like standing or sitting for social needs such as active and passive engagement, and opportunities for encounters are driven outside the market boundaries by design, while exclusion of homeless people is routine. The Trust's actions in pursuit of the efficiency of the trading environment have resulted in users being provided with no formal seating facilities

other than in the market's cafés, and the walls and grassed areas in Southwark Cathedral courtyard.

One distinctive finding from the research is that physicality is crucially important to traditional markets. The benefits for Borough Market from its central location, its historic environment, its good connectivity, its visibility from the high street, the cultural assets nearby with which it has developed a partnership for cultural events, and its physical characteristics with a Victoria iron structure, all combine to create a distinctive marketplace. These advantages combine with a specialist use that is popular at the moment, and a responsive management system to produce a thriving market.

Most of all, the BID plays a key role in maintaining Borough Market as a local public space. The BID is aware of the vital economic role of Borough Market and its contribution to local businesses by drawing people to the area to shop, and identifies its social importance as a public open space for local residents. The BID management is having an impact in addressing the exclusionary and privatised nature of the public space of Borough Market. In response to conflicts over use or from social tensions, the BID provides seating, gathering areas monitored by security guards, and covered areas for weather protection. Buskers and filming events are arranged so as not to clash with the busiest times of the market. It deals with the homeless. The slack space represents a very effective way of providing room for temporary uses, and accommodates a considerable amount of informal and formal seating and gathering areas, which is allowed and encouraged by the BID.

The BID identifies conflicts in the local area over the closure of Stoney Street, for example, and negotiates solutions to local residents' and businesses' needs. The proposed closure of Stoney Street was a good example of negotiation, but in the end it was decided not to close it as residents and businesses needed access for deliveries, waste collection, and emergencies.

As a good source of funding, the levy from local businesses allows the BID to coordinate cleaning, safety and security, events and promotion, and negotiate to address local businesses' and communities' needs. The BID takes advantage of its own resources and investment to monitor use and users' perceptions relating to Borough Market. The BID seems very responsive to the needs of customers and traders, and seems to have developed a communications feedback system so that actions taken by the BID can be evaluated. Their management makes the partnership as a whole more effective and inclusive.

#### 9.4.4 2017 update of market management in Borough Market

This update is based on interviews held with the market manager in the Borough Market Trust, the manager of the Bankside BID, and three traders, in February 2017 to establish whether there had been any significant changes to the market since the last fieldwork investigations in 2009. The management of the market is discussed, focusing on strategic issues such as a clear vision for the market and the multi-member management partnership in the local area with diverse sources of funding for investment. Other practical issues addressed by market management are a focus on high quality food and food ingredients with marketing, branding and promotion of the market, a high level of management with regard to safety and security, on-the-spot cleaning and waste collection to maintain the market's attractiveness for greater accessibility, enhancement to the fixed market layout, extended opening days and hours, and diverse community events for social legibility. Enhanced plans for seating, public toilets and protection from the weather as part of market amenities are also in place, all focussed on reinforcing the market's unique sense of viability and vitality.

The local area around Borough Market has been changing. Morphologically, blocks of office buildings have been built around the market. Since the railway extension project began in 2011, some buildings have been replaced, with a new building for temporary events and extra public space, while new businesses such as restaurants offering international cuisine have moved in to the area, and new entrances to Borough Market have been created.

During the period since 2009, Borough Market extended its opening days. Now the market opens unofficially on Monday and Tuesday, and officially from Wednesday to Saturday, with the international food market and a farmers' market. To enable the recent railway extension works which began in 2011, the market relocated traders into Jubilee Market, an extension of Borough Market. Subsequently stalls were retained in this market and the number of new traders has increased. A cooking school and food bank programme for food recycling have been introduced.

The Borough Market Trust manager has changed twice since the fieldwork investigations were undertaken in 2009. The current manager was appointed in 2016, and previously worked in a community-focused role for the London Borough of Ealing.

##### **Strategic issues**

1. A strategic plan for the historic Borough Market

The manager clarified that Borough Market is a food market that caters to the international community in London and to tourists. The manager understands that the local area has been influenced by gentrification. European immigrants have increased in the areas due to the increase in new office buildings, and of tourists since the South Bank development. Borough Market has a clear vision which reflects an in-depth understanding of users, including local users, visitors from across London, and tourists.

## 2. Partnership

Borough Market continues to build a strong relationship with its community. The Market Trust communicates with landlords around Borough Market, Southwark Cathedral, local community groups, the BID, and the council in the local area through regular meetings. It also communicates with traders and the traders' association through face-to-face meetings and newsletters. The Market management located an information desk in the parking areas, and traders and customers can easily approach market staff when they have issues to discuss.

Borough Market management exchanges best practice with other markets in European countries such as Spain and Germany, and has improved the market by introducing a cooking school and 'kitchen' demonstrating recipe preparation and cooking skills. Borough Market also plans to help London Bridge BID (which manages the area where new office developments including the Shard are located) to make a better public space and contribute to the community.

Regarding funds, the main source of income for the market is rent from stalls and retail units, but the Market Trust has attracted other sources of income. For example, the Government sponsored the new glass building to house temporary events and new public toilets, and a temporary market site in Jubilee Market as part of the changes to the market as a result of the construction of the Thameslink line. Borough Market Trust regenerated their properties around the marketplace, creating new bars and restaurants, and re-invested the profit from this in the market. The multiple sources of income are important in order to continue improving Borough Market.

### **Practical issues**

#### 1. High quality food and food ingredients for the international community

Borough Market offers European food and food ingredients such as those from Spain and Italy, and has now expanded to a wider range of international food. The African community is a



small minority in this part of London but the Market Trust have nevertheless started African food stalls. Traders confirmed that their main customers are still office workers and local residents on weekdays, and more predominantly tourists on weekends.

For Borough Market, the quality of their products and food is of the utmost importance. The manager highlighted that quality is controlled through a rigorous process which defines the market's character and brand as much as the types of products offered. The manager highlighted that quality products sustain the popularity of the market and contribute to its unique character. The manager discerned that the character of Borough Market distinguishes it from other private markets which tend to have products which can be found anywhere. Traders also agreed that Borough Market as a place for best quality and international products benefits from their interaction and conversations with customers as a way to introduce their culture and its food.

Borough Market has expanded the ranges of food and food ingredients to actively respond to identified users, and plans to introduce more local and seasonal food and food ingredients in response to Brexit, in the anticipation that fewer Europeans will visit the UK in the future. The BMT focuses on quality which determines to a large degree the character of the market as the resulting high prices are still likely to attract only affluent people. Stratified space caused by the self-segregation of low-income people seems to be continuing.

#### 1) Branding and active marketing

The manager confirmed that Borough Market is now a brand itself. The market brand is promoted using books on the market's history and development, banners, a special market colour scheme, and market branded events. The market has a website with links to all the individual traders' websites while the traders also advertise their products via their own websites, online shops, and twitter accounts. Marketing and branding helps attract not only customers but also new traders. Private companies hold events in Borough Market as it raises the prestige of the event for them. Traders also said that they select Borough Market as a place to work for its good reputation as well as its location as a tourist destination. They agreed that events such as Apple Day and Demo-Kitchens organised by Borough Market management attract more people and are helpful to the traders.

Furthermore, social interaction for the purposes of exchanging information nurtures routine encounters and encourages the economic viability of the market. The manager stressed the importance of interaction between customers and traders. In some cases, traders do not

always interact successfully with customers. Establishing a positive trader and customer relationship is seen to be one of the keys to successful transactions which also encourage customers to come back again. The market management provides training for traders in this area. The Market Trust also employs 'undercover' customers to test traders' interaction with customers and the public.

## 2) Stall fees and provision of stalls and storage facilities

The BMT keeps stall fees fairly stable by re-investing the profits that it makes from renting the properties it owns around the market into market operations and maintenance. As well as casual licenses, the BMT provides the market's own branded stalls for the traders, and storage including refrigerated storage in the basement of the market. This helps to reduce the car-parking problem in the market as traders can come to work by bike or tube, or they drive early in the morning to arrive at the market before the Congestion Charge starts. Arriving so early also allows them to find parking more easily in the surrounding streets. Borough Market is popular for trading now and has a waiting list.

## 2. Accessibility

The layout of pitches is fixed now and is arranged to allow ease of access especially during periods of congestion. The BMT designed the market stalls for a uniform look and provides frequent cleaning to maintain this appearance. The manager considers the importance of the character of the surrounding area, and suggests that Borough High Street needs to be improved as it is not attractive, having a dull character. The BID has a plan to enhance Borough High Street with streetscape improvements, greening of the environment, exhibitions about the cultural and historic identity of the district, and promotion of the retail shops.

The diverse sectors in the local area also work together to improve the area's appearance, and the sense of safety and security. A female trader expressed a fear of homeless people, although she has not experienced any problems. The manager's attitude to homeless people is the same as before. CCTV is used to monitor the area, and security staff resettles homeless people who are permitted to access this market district although they are excluded from the market site. The BMT provides this level of management for reasons of the safety and security of all its users.

### 3. Surrounding Land uses as part of the marketplace

There are cafes and restaurants selling artisan food and small retail shops selling food ingredients or flowers. The BMT communicates with landlords and has its own properties in the local area. By owning retail units around the market, the BMT has some control over these land uses and can ensure that they are complementary to, rather than competing with, the uses in the market. This further strengthens the character of the area and identifies it as a market district, centred around Borough Market.

### 4. Spatial, temporal and social legibility

The layout of pitches is fixed now with all stalls being active and operational, so flexibility in the layout of stalls, which contributes to a positive perception of spatial legibility, is no longer an issue. Instead, congestion is a problem especially on Saturdays. The Market Trust plans to expand the market as it becomes more popular, and small satellite markets in other areas such as Ealing are being considered due to the limited space within the current market site.

With regard to temporal legibility, the BMT also has a plan to extend its opening days and hours to include a night time market and to open on Sunday. However, potential problems relating to alcohol and noisy behaviour have so far defeated the plan for a night-time market. Regarding opening days and hours, the manager is aware of traders' needs. Preparation time is required by the traders to make their food, and this also needs to be considered, so not all traders can work every day. This allows some flexibility in the scheduling of traders and products offered during the market week.

Community events and school trips are organised on the same basis as before. The market also holds a community feast for local people, and supports 20 primary schools in the borough by coordinating school trips for educational purposes focusing on healthy eating. The market management also organises occasional events such as public discussions on healthy eating and the BID sponsors community events around Borough Market. To nurture and sustain a positive sense of a vital and viable public space, coordination of the diverse events such as festivals, school trips and walks is very important. These activities are the opportunities for encounters but they can create tensions, for example relating to congestion on Saturdays.

### 5. Market amenities in the local area

As a food market in inner London with limited space, the market has relied on space around the market for seating. Southwark Cathedral provides seating and allows people to use their

toilets, while the BMT helps in the maintenance of the cathedral's courtyard. The BMT actively plans more seating within its site such as in the Jubilee Market area. The market also plans to provide fixed and durable coverings suitable for food stalls. Traders in the open area such as the parking lot, where most food stalls are located, request more seating and protection from wind and rain.

The BMT owns property in Stoney Street which is to be regenerated as retail shops, offices and leisure space, so the BID is again considering the pedestrianisation of Stoney Street. The provision of market amenities is very important and Borough Market relies on the local area. The BMT shows leadership through its negotiation of solutions to the needs in the local area undertaken in a partnership with the BID.

This update of market management practices relating to Borough Market reinforces the view that the pro-active management provided by the BMT, a community organisation, continues to be successful ensuring a market that is a viable and vital public space. The market management is aware of local challenges and develops responses to changing needs. The ranges of products have been expanded and are focused on high quality for a premium price. Accessibility has been improved, along with cleaning, safety and security. Practices for branding, marketing and promotion show creative ideas through a partnership with traders. Events are held for social legibility and to benefit the community. To deliver these active management practices, a clear vision via a strategic plan has been very important on the basis of a good understanding of the needs of all market users.

Partnerships in the local area, especially with the BID, are critical to addressing issues of the potential exclusion from public space of certain groups by allowing homeless people into the market district. The BID also provides additional free seating which contributes to the release of privatised space. Leadership focussed on negotiating and coordinating solutions to address needs in the local area is another aspect of this management partnership.

## 9.5 Comparison of the case study markets

With regard to creating a typology of London's traditional markets in order to better understand them as complex urban environments, the case studies looked at one aspect of the typology in detail which was the market management practices that support and enhance a

market's use and physicality. Petticoat Lane is a street market which is legitimately and institutionally managed by a local authority and Borough Market is a publicly accessible covered market which is regulated and managed by a community organisation, BMT.

This section compares the two markets to find better management practices in relation to the use and physicality as detailed in the conceptual framework. As a point of similarity, both markets are situated in areas with marked contrasts in levels of economic deprivation with mixed socio-cultural demographics. This is, in part, the result of economic development in the local areas, and in particular, the development of offices and residences around both markets.

The similarity between the markets ends there, as Borough Market illustrates a highly successful market management with a strong vision for the market's future development, a successful management partnership between the BMT, the local BID, Southwark cathedral, and the local community, strong and creative leadership, and micro-management practices that are responsive and effective. Petticoat Lane is still struggling to put in place many of the management tools and micro-management systems that Borough Market has developed and continues to refine in an effort to sustain a successful strategic market in London. The following comparison will highlight the contrasting situations in the two case study markets.

### 9.5.1 The changing national context for traditional markets

After the empirical fieldwork investigation was completed in 2009, two influential reports were published reviewing traditional markets in London and beyond. These were *London's Retail Markets* published in 2010, by the London Development Agency (LDA) abolished in 2012, and *Market Failure? Can the traditional market Survive?* published in 2009 by the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee. The reports both maintained that markets are important social environments that support community cohesion and social inclusion and highlight their importance in helping to drive local economic vitality fitting in with the wider efforts in Government policy to prioritise economic growth. The LDA (2010) report expanded on the issue of management and recommended pro-active management, including compliance with regulations and legislation and greater attention to market maintenance. Their stress on the importance of management practices and advanced skills and knowledge to do this is still valid. In 2012 through the introduction of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), the Government themselves gave broad support to the effective management of traditional markets, arguing in paragraph 23 that local authorities should 'retain and enhance existing markets and, where appropriate, re-introduce or create new ones, ensuring that markets remain attractive and competitive'.

Markets in the UK became an increasing focus for government after 2013, in relation to town centres and the need for regeneration of the country's high streets. This new concern, stemmed from the increasing threat to traditional retail from the growth of online shopping, in connection with which the high profile Mary Portas's review (2011) recommended that well managed street markets provide one of the key elements in helping to attract people to traditional shopping areas. At the London level, the GLA (2013; 2014) has been developing strategies to support markets on or near

high streets in an attempt to draw shoppers back to town centres, and a series of reports, published by GLA (2014) and Institute of Place Management (2015), reviewed this role, identifying in the process the sorts of challenges that markets are facing, with recommendations for their revival.

According to the report, *Market Stalled* (Gareth Bacon, 2014), London's markets are in decline, facing challenges such as retail competition, increase in online retail shopping, and a lack of support from local authorities. The report confirmed that 'if the current trend of market closure continues, and unless urgent action is taken, it is possible that as many as one in five council-run markets in inner London could simply cease to exist within the next 18 years (GLA, 2014, p. 1)'. The report recommended more support for traditional markets because they continue to play a key role in high street regeneration, including the need for more active management perhaps by private or community organisations. The report, *Markets matter* (Institute of Place Management, 2015), also reconfirmed the role of markets in high streets by identifying the economic, social and political benefits of markets to cities. Whilst, in the austerity years, Governmental support for markets has been minimal, with further support in policy at London and national scales, each addressing the role of market management and detailed management practices, there is clearly a desire to see their long-term economic and social success. In 2017 this desire has yet to be matched with significant action.

### 9.5.2 Strategic vision

Having a viable strategic vision for the future development of a market is critical especially for inner London's traditional markets. This is particularly the case where the local areas have been influenced by gentrification and are changing as a result. The vision for Borough Market has been developed with a good understanding of the changes in the surrounding local areas, the new users and their changing needs; so the vision for Borough Market has been as a food retail market for both the local and the wider community, while maintaining an historic



wholesale market. Petticoat Lane had a limited vision with no plans to adapt the market to current retail trends or changes in their local context.

The updated fieldwork interviews and market observations of the two markets in 2017 show that Petticoat Lane is still in decline, not serving either the local community or tourists, while Borough Market has continued to enhance its status as an international market serving diverse communities in London as well as international tourists.

### 9.5.3 Partnership and leadership

Market management involves management practices covering all of a market's operations which include improving market legibility, appearance, and maintenance of the marketplace. In Petticoat Lane, market management involves market traders, local businesses, departments in the local council, the Metropolitan Police, and utility companies, but they do not work together in a partnership. Borough Market adds the local community, the Business Improvement District (BID), and Southwark Cathedral, and they work together as an effective management team (see section 6.3.4). The complex arrangements and multiple stakeholders involved in the operation and management of a market point to the importance of partnership.

In Petticoat Lane, public space users such as market traders are particularly aware of changes affecting their market, and decide appropriate actions for their economic and functional needs, on the spot. For example, traders produce and display signs where required, advertise their goods with informal displays of colourful products and appetising food. They also take strategic decisions such as organising the range of products, pricing, gathering areas especially with seats around food stalls and covered areas for weather protection (see Section 7.4). Marketing relies on traders' DIY management in Petticoat Lane. Local businesses provide facilities such as outdoor café seats or access to toilets, both in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market (see Sections 7.4 and 8.4), as there is a lack of seating and toilet facilities in both markets which management has failed to remedy.

Leadership is required to coordinate and negotiate solutions for uses and needs. This DIY management in Petticoat Lane tends to cause some other problems such as reduced visibility of the market due to parked cars, and an inefficient market layout. Leadership from management to address these issues, and negotiate a solution that is fair to all traders while enhancing the market appearance, is long overdue.

From a comparison of the two case study markets and their management, it appears that Borough Market is being successfully managed using a partnership approach with three main partners - the Borough Market Trust, the BID, and Southwark Cathedral, with the local authority being a silent partner on most issues. The advantage of this partnership, especially with the BID, is that there are more resources in staff, funding and investment to focus on the daily operational needs of the market, and also to focus on promotion, marketing and branding. The partnership is a key asset for Borough Market when micro-managing market operations to ensure smooth daily running of the market, and responsiveness to all challenges, tensions and opportunities as they arise.

Whereas the micro-management of Petticoat Lane is done by traders, the strategies and practices of the community and semi-public sector bodies such as the Borough Market Trust and the BID in Borough Market stress the importance of managing the space of the covered marketplace to serve an efficient trading and vibrant social environment that facilitates ease of movement, safety, and legibility (see Section 8.5.3).

However, leadership to coordinate and negotiate uses and needs is needed. This DIY management tends to cause some other problems such as less visibility and an inefficient market layout in Petticoat Lane. From a comparison of the two case study markets and their management, it appears that Borough Market is being successfully managed using a partnership approach with three main partners - the Borough Market Trust, the BID, and Southwark Cathedral, with the local authority being a silent partner on most issues. The advantage of this partnership, especially with the BID, is that there are more resources in staff, funding and investment to focus on the daily operational needs of the market, and also to focus on promotion, marketing and branding. The partnership is a key for Borough Market to apply micro-management to ensure smooth daily running of the market, and responsiveness to all challenges, tensions and opportunities as they arise.

The update of the fieldwork investigations of the two markets in 2017 reinforces the importance of partnership and leadership. Whereas Petticoat Lane is still in decline, strong partnership and leadership in Borough Market now accelerates economic viability and social vitality, while expanding the range of products with effective branding, creative marketing ideas, and enhanced accessibility, legibility and market amenities.

### 9.5.4 Micro-management

The micro-management of uses and physicality in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market is compared using five categories: types of products, accessibility, surrounding land uses, legibility, and market amenities, derived from the conceptual framework. A good understanding of needs and uses is important for micro-management in the markets.

Micro-management also considers the need for, and the use of slack space which enhances the socio-spatial quality of markets. The extra space in and around the two markets highlights the importance of identifying and appropriately using this type of space.

#### **Understanding needs and uses**

Social activities are related to Gehl (1987)'s necessary activities such as shopping and trading. But in outdoor public spaces such as a street market or a covered public market, shopping often takes place with a slow, sauntering movement as an optional activity, which is easily extended to standing and sitting, and allows more time to be spent in the market (see sections 7.2 and 8.2). Activities related to trading intend to engage and invite people and become part of the social atmosphere. The social and economic activities are recurring and interdependent, and produce other social activities such as observing, gathering, talking, taking photos and playing, as Gehl (1987) explained when describing the nature of outdoor activities. More standing and sitting take place in the streets around the markets at weekday lunchtimes and on weekends, especially in summer, and more so in Borough Market (see Section 8.2).

Rhythms of use reflect both trading and shopping patterns, and the link between use and users, which points to the importance of understanding needs and monitoring use. Petticoat Lane predominantly serves people for practical purchases and 'necessary' users whereas Borough Market provides people with a vital social atmosphere as well as the purchase of food and food ingredients (see Sections 7.5.2 and 8.5.2).

As places for social interaction, inner London's traditional markets reinforce social and unexpected encounters amongst users. It is predominantly office workers who actively engage in these market spaces at weekday lunchtimes, staying around the food stalls or vans while tourists or general visitors predominate at weekends in both markets (see Sections 7.2 and 8.2).

In Petticoat Lane, customers visit the markets regularly for reasons such as lunch or refreshment (see Section 7.5.2). In Borough Market, users come for business appointments

and meeting friends and have preferences for high quality food in cafés, restaurants and market stalls, enjoying the social atmosphere, aesthetic experience of the historic architectural setting, and availability of seats in good weather (see Section 8.5.2). Other users also prefer weekday lunchtimes as a good time to visit, in both Petticoat Lane and Borough Market (see Sections 7.5.2 and 8.5.2).

The literature suggested that encounters associated with positive feelings can encourage routine visits, sustain or nurture social interaction, and underpin a shared experience and sense of belonging across demographic groups. Furthermore, social activities especially develop a positive market atmosphere and sense of place that attract more people and encourage economic viability, which promotes market sustainability. The case studies support this view.

However, users' negative perceptions suggest tensions in these two markets, mainly related to the capacity of the settings. The perceived decline in Petticoat Lane or lack of vitality is linked to underuse of the market, indicated by vacant stalls or pitches, and on some days, few active stalls (see Sections 7.4 and 7.5.2). In Borough Market, the lack of seats, excessive litter, lack of public toilets, concerns over traffic safety, and fear of crime such as pickpockets and street drinkers, is related to congestion on Saturdays (see Section 8.5.2). This indicates overuse of the public space resulting in congestion as its effective capacity is exceeded.

Perceptions of both the markets indicate the stratified nature of London's market spaces. However, In terms of the economic and functional aspects of markets, in Petticoat Lane, the low quality of goods, customers' lack of interest, fear of crime, derelict environment, excess litter, and shortage of available seats and public toilets, are limitations for office workers and affluent people from newly developed residences in the local area (see Section 7.5.2). In Borough Market, high prices, and the similarity of produce such as expensive, specialty, Mediterranean, and English foods, discourage visits by low-income people such as local residents from council housing, especially from marginal ethnic groups, and in particular Asians (see Section 8.5.2). In the survey of market users, the socio-economic status of the users did not affect their preferences for good quality food, a positive social atmosphere, the benefits of the historic setting, and a safe and clean public environment, which everyone preferred (see Sections 7.5.2 and 8.5.2). This supports Atkinson (2003)'s recommendations for high quality and active management, which appears to be beneficial for the majority.

## The products

Markets are places for commerce, and the quality of the products in relation to the price and the types of produce are critical in both Petticoat Lane and Borough Market. Artisan food is a very high profile and dominant market product in London at the moment (see sections 8.2 and 8.5.2). The niche focus on food is also a timely one, as London is experiencing a food renaissance so Borough Market fits into this London-wide strategy. Petticoat Lane, on the other hand, is struggling against the tide of generally cheap clothing available from many sources in London and online (see sections 7.2 and 7.5.2). It is faced with the difficult task of rebranding itself as a specialist clothes market, but the management needs to decide what this specialist market might be. Petticoat Lane is located in a retail area where there is keen price competition from the high street and online. Other vintage markets are also competitors, such as old Spitalfields Market in the area which is more attractive as it is located in an historic market building, and specialises in old and vintage clothes. So Petticoat Lane has greater challenges to address.

Market layout, allocating active retail units selling specialist food and ingredients as an anchor for regular users, and food stalls as lynchpin stalls, supports the viability and vitality of the market atmosphere in Borough Market. Branding and marketing ideas are also actively organised. Traders' interactions with customers are most important, but the market's website and banners in and around the market, provided by market management, are also useful. Petticoat Lane needs these types of marketing and branding ideas.

Trading facilities and stall fees are the key aspects of the economic environment and attract traders to the markets. Regarding trading facilities, the BMT developed creative and sustainable thinking. The provision of branded stalls and storage facilities for traders in Borough Market enables the traders to come to work using public transport whereas Petticoat Lane is struggling to sort out parking space for the traders.

There are different trader's patterns of use and needs. In Petticoat Lane, traders' rely on market trading to make a living (see Section 7.5.2). Unfortunately market traders can no longer make a living from full-time market trading at Petticoat Lane even though the market fees are minimal. In Borough Market, market trading is typically only one part of a larger business (see Section 8.5.2). In Borough Market, multiple sources of funding are very important to keep stall fees low, and this is a particular challenge especially in inner London where high rents are likely to be imposed for high land value.

## **Accessibility and connectivity**

The daily numbers of people who come to these two markets indicate densities, encounter rates, and the effective capacity of the settings. Shopping is an activity that creates opportunities for encounters; and the busiest times are weekday lunchtimes and on weekends, in both Petticoat Lane and Borough Market (see sections 7.3 and 8.3). An increase in encounters may be inferred from the notable increase in market visitors, with an associated rise in activities and duration of visits. However, the influx of visitors causes congestion on Saturdays in Borough Market (see section 8.3).

Connectivity and accessibility are critical qualities for markets. Borough Market is very well connected to public transport and bus routes (see section 8.3). It is next to a major transport interchange with both rail and underground stations at London Bridge, leading to a high footfall rate in the area, some of which benefits the market. It is therefore used as a meeting place as it is easy to locate and access. The market is visible from Borough High Street and the entrance of Borough Market tube station so it is, again, easy to locate for high accessibility (see Section 8.3). Therefore, it has excellent connectivity, and is likely to gain footfall from the High Street, the underground and the British Rail train station.

On the contrary, Petticoat Lane is not well connected to public transport and bus routes in that it is not on, or adjacent to, a major street where the bus stops are located, and it cannot be seen from any of the transport nodes nearby (see Sections 7.5.2). So, although it has good connectivity in one sense - it is not far from these facilities, it is invisible to those who don't know where it is located. Random footfall is therefore low. The market then depends on use by local residents and office workers from the area.

There are more footfalls in Borough Market as it is close to London Bridge, the River Thames, South Bank, the Tate Modern, and is on a cultural route whereas Petticoat Lane is more isolated from major attractions. Enhancing connectivity and legibility in the local area with signs, lighting, historic features, banners along routes from public transport stations and cultural attractions, and events, has been the priority to attract more users to the declining Petticoat Lane (see Section 7.5.3). At Borough Market the priority has been improving the layout for accessibility and ease of movement to support shopping in this destination (see Section 8.5.3). The update on Petticoat Lane and Borough Market in 2017 reconfirms that market management in the two markets prioritises accessibility.



## Historic context

Borough Market is an historic building set in an historic context. This is attractive to both residents and visitors. It also reminds users of the long history of the market. It presents a unique environment that is distinctive setting Borough Market apart from other markets in inner London (see section 6.3.2). Petticoat Lane is also located in an historic area of London, in a conservation area, so that the context is unlikely to change substantially. The historic character of the area imbues the market with a certain historic sense, which is augmented by the nature of the stalls and coverings which harkens back to past times (see Section 6.2.2). Together, the setting and the market stalls represent the nature of an historic street market.

Borough Market has a physical presence, created by the Victorian covered roof and structure. This gives the market an historic feel and also defines the physical space, as well as providing weather protection for both traders and shoppers. The physical form adds both character and legibility to the market, and defines the area clearly as Borough Market (see 6.3.2 and 8.5.3). Unlike Borough Market, Petticoat Lane has no physical structure to define it, apart from the stalls and their canopies which are visible when the market is operating. The temporary nature of the market now seems to be a significant disadvantage, as it is not a landmark in the physical sense. Additionally, the unkempt street environment does not nurture a positive place identity (see 6.2.2 and 7.5.3).

## Land uses in the local area

Shopping and associated activities demand management strategies and market maintenance to ensure a positive economic and social environment for the market. Land uses around the marketplace and the market layout affect market success. The local area around Borough Market is gentrified with high quality commercial amenities such as branded retail units, bars, cafés and restaurants (see Section 8.3); these can allow alternative shopping with flower shops, a barbershop, and different types of restaurants, and this helps to maintain the market area as a distinctive district, Petticoat Lane accommodates local retail units, some of which sell African textiles, cheap clothing and shoes, as well as cafés and restaurants (see Section 7.3). The differences between the two market areas demonstrate the need for management to have a strategic plan that considers the market in relation to the local area as a whole as Borough Market has done.

Borough Market operates as a series of covered streets and becomes a little market village (see Section 8.5.3). Petticoat Lane was like this in the past with a number of streets in the

market but it has now been reduced to one or two streets (see Section 7.5.3). The update on Petticoat Lane in 2017 reveals that the surrounding area has changed with gentrified retail units, cafes and restaurants replacing vacant units or clothes shops. Now, the impact of gentrification is clearer and Petticoat Lane is missing the connection with local businesses.

### **Permeability and legibility**

In Borough Market, the marketplace is accessible from the surrounding streets at all times, making it permeable as well as integrating it into the existing historic street network (see Sections 6.3.2 and 8.3). It is obvious that it is a marketplace, with its distinctive roof. The internal arrangement of aisles and passageways emphasises internal 'streets' that link to the external streets in a seamless way. With regard to legibility, from the outside, the market is recognisable and is a landmark in the area, alongside Southwark Cathedral. Within the marketplace, it is sometimes easy to become disoriented within the small passageways between stall and retail shops, however, the external streets provide some orientation, along with the courtyard of the cathedral. The character of the market is much like the character of the district surrounding it, with narrow winding streets. The market therefore exists well within its surroundings. In Petticoat Lane, the marketplace is very permeable being on a street or streets, and is legible as it follows the street line (see Sections 6.2.2 and 7.3).

Regarding spatial, temporal and social aspects of legibility, Borough Market has worked to enhance all aspects. The flexible layout of stalls, and expanded and flexible opening days and hours may contribute to a positive perception of the market. The update relating to Borough Market in 2017 found that the market now has a fixed layout of active stalls and extended opening days and hours. Community events and school trips have increased encounters, and better connect the market to local people as a meaningful public space. They also educate the community about the cultural aspects of the market.

### **Cultural context of the market**

Borough Market benefits from its location near to the River Thames, and the cultural facilities located on the South Bank cultural walking route. This has meant that the market has been able to organise events in partnership with some of these facilities, such as the Tate Modern gallery, in which both parties benefit from the increased publicity and patronage. There is also substantial benefit from being adjacent to the cathedral which is a cultural tourist attraction (see Section 6.3.2).

In Petticoat Lane, directly in the vicinity, there are no cultural facilities, but nearby there is Whitechapel Art Gallery. Petticoat Lane partnered with the gallery for an event in the past, and this raised the profile of both partners, benefiting perhaps Petticoat Lane more. The wider area includes other markets such as Brick Lane and Old Spitalfields markets, which both act as competitors to Petticoat Lane (see Section 6.2.2). As a result of the various aspects of the physicality of Petticoat Lane, the market appears to have many challenges. It no longer appears to be on a route that is regularly well used by a diverse range of people. This has reduced the footfall through the market. In London, location is the key for any business, and unfortunately, Petticoat Lane does not appear to be in a viable location for a street market.

As a result of its location and physical form, Borough Market derives many benefits. Market management therefore has the task of ensuring that the strengths and advantages of the market's physicality are maintained and enhanced. However, as a result of the various aspects of the physicality of Petticoat Lane, the market appears to have many challenges. It no longer appears to be on a route that is regularly well used by a diverse range of people. This has reduced the footfall through the market. In London, location is the key for any business, and unfortunately, Petticoat Lane does not appear to be in a viable location for a street market.

Therefore, the physicality of Petticoat Lane does not support the uses of the market as well as the physicality of Borough Market. Management therefore has a much greater challenge to reverse the decline in the market, and must work to address issues related to the uses and activities to create a market which is attractive to both local residents and tourists while also selling the products that they want.

### **Market amenities**

High levels of use also intensify the importance of a management partnership with the local community. Market users can easily engage in standing, or sitting in the informal seats around the marketplace such as empty stalls in Petticoat Lane, on street kerbs, or in seats provided by outdoor cafes, in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market (see sections 7.3 and 8.3). In Borough Market, the courtyard of Southwark Cathedral along with street kerbs and pavements, are used for sitting and standing, which causes maintenance and safety issues in the local area outside the marketplace. Local businesses and the local church in the case of Borough Market suffer from the need to keep up with routine maintenance under pressure of overuse. The maintenance issues raised by traders, local businesses, residents or the local church are solved or negotiated by the BMT and the BID in Borough Market (see section 8.5.3).

The update of Petticoat Lane in 2017 reveals that the markets' lack of partnership has impacted its ability to improve market amenities. The BMT needs to deal with problems of maintenance in Southwark Cathedral and have a plan to facilitate additional seating in the market site.

#### 9.5.4 On-going tensions and a dynamic relationship between use, management & physicality

The relationship between use and management of market spaces in response to on-going challenges is dynamic. Conceptually, the dynamic nature of public space was discussed, reflecting the ever-changing balance between people's needs, uses, and rights to public space. Lynch (1981) highlighted that this relationship is never fixed, but is continuously shifting and being redefined.

In this study, this relationship is also related to the balance between economic viability and social vitality. In Borough Market, proactive management of space for commerce has produced vital space but also has to deal with congestion and fear of crime, producing arguably exclusionary and privatised space. This led to people's sitting and social activities being located in the courtyard of the cathedral and streets outside of the market site. The BID with aspirations for positive public space was involved to negotiate public and private interests around the market (see section 8.5.2).

The relationship also can be found in Petticoat Lane. The declining economic use was identified and the local authority prepared a plan to improve the market although reactive management with the lack of experience, knowledge and skills prevented it from implementing this plan to attract users (see section 7.5.2).

The update relating to Borough Market and Petticoat Lane in 2017 reinforces this finding regarding economic viability and social vitality. Borough Market has actively planned its detailed management practices. The management has extended the range of products, layout of stalls, and opening days and hours, and introduced a demo-kitchen programme, cooking classes, and other events. The management of Petticoat Lane is too slow to respond to its biggest challenge of decline, and more actions are needed regarding types of products, accessibility, legibility, surrounding land uses, and market amenities.

In addition, conflicts over uses were also imposed by policies at a higher level, for example, the Congestion Charge Zone affecting Petticoat Lane, and the railway viaduct extension in Borough

Market. Both of these measures were imposed by transport policies designed to reduce traffic congestion and air pollution while improving public transport access, but have ironically raised tensions surrounding access to these local public spaces (see sections 7.5.2 and 8.5.2). The economic development policies such as Opportunity Areas, Areas for Intensification, and Town Centre Management encourage improved public transport infrastructure as well as new commercial and residential development (see sections 6.2.4 and 6.3.4). This can benefit markets mostly located within the designated areas with enhanced access, but market management needs information and communication with the relevant government and local government departments in order to properly assess the long and short term impacts.

Given the complex issues arising from market use in a rapidly and continually changing urban context, it is not easy to predict the results of certain management interventions, even in the case of carefully researched plans in Borough Market. For example, the market may now be affected by Brexit.

The lack of effective management in Petticoat Lane prevents the relationship between use and physicality being understood at all which deters and interrupts the relationship. However, management partnerships that bring together diverse bodies create an opportunity to ensure that market settings work effectively in the best interest of all stakeholders.

### 9.5.5 Different management approaches in the two management models

Management responsibility is important for inclusive and effective management. The local authority in Petticoat Lane, and the community organisation, BMT in Borough Market, organise their management actions and maintenance using different approaches in the two markets.

#### **State-centred management model**

In Petticoat Lane market, the local authority's approach is an example of the state-centred market management model. The local authority has a less dynamic strategic vision but strong aspirations for the social agenda, for example, in public space for all, but it lacks expertise to boost the market's economic viability. It reveals an overly bureaucratic approach and fragmented responsibilities across departments, with slow processing of information and feedback, and it is weak at coordinating services set out in local policies or strategies and negotiating needs.

For example, in Petticoat Lane, guided tours and events on Saturdays were not coordinated with the day-to-day running of the market which is closed on that day. Cleaning times on weekdays and the road works schedule did not take into account the opening times of the market so that rubbish collection was made before the market closes resulting in a rubbish strewn street until the next morning; this is a sign of ineffective management. Damaged footways and abandoned and broken public toilets were also evidence of poor maintenance (Petticoat Lane; see Section 7.5.2). For communication with stakeholders, the local authority attempts to hold meetings with representatives, but, as the traders stated, these do not often take place.

The 2017 update of Petticoat Lane suggests that reactive management which is also constrained by legislation and with no vision and a lack of partnership and leadership prevents active and creative approaches to solving the immediate problems faced by Petticoat Lane.

### **Community-centred management model**

The community-centered management model is illustrated by Borough Market. The community organisation, BMT, along with the BID, considers the social and economic benefits of the market for the local community, and tends to prioritise economic viability. It uses a more strategic management approach. The community organisation with its own board from the local community and a management team provides democratic and strategic management. The Borough Market Trust practises on-the-spot maintenance within the marketplace, and oversees the provision of signs, CCTV, layout of market stalls, and cleaning for market users. The Borough Market Trust also assists the community of traders with a website and newsletter and creates community events to build a close relationship with the local community.

The community-centred management is effective at coordination of uses, programming of events and services, securing funding and resources which is critical for micro-management in responding to users' daily needs, and proactive management to attract potential users including visitors and tourists. This type of management appears to be more open to accept new ideas about branding, fundraising, and programmes to attract customers and retain existing traders and attract new ones. The management is also good at negotiating solutions to address needs, with a flexible approach especially in setting opening days and hours, and providing storage and stalls.

In order to respond to on-going tensions over time, Borough Market actively secures appropriate funds not only for maintenance but also for investment by making profit from



renting the properties it owns and the event venue and selling the market's own products. Resources can be offered via the strategic partnership in the local area such as for local cultural facilities, schools, media. It also has expertise in economic development, for example, offering job training, and involving other groups such as the BID to negotiate conflicts arising in the local area. For effective partnership, communication with stakeholders and traders is important and the BMT seems to have better communication skills.

The update of the Borough Market case in 2017 indicates that proactive management has continuously supported the success of the market with a clear vision for the role of the market, strong partnership and leadership, and innovative ideas.

## 9.6 Revisiting the Concepts from the Literature Review: management facilitates the contribution of traditional markets to the public life

This section will review how the concepts from the literature review chapters have informed and shaped this research study and the analysis of the findings. It will also revisit the conceptual framework to assess whether it provided a useful and relevant structure for the research investigation.

Some of the key concepts for this research were:

- 1 Habermas (1976), Carr et al. (1992) and Ruppert (2006) 's emphasis on the right to public space, and the maintenance of public access to public space to ensure a continuing and diverse public life in cities.

The overall change in inner London's markets, which includes the declining Petticoat Lane and the thriving Borough Market, suggest that some of the markets are adapting for their survival and continuity. The concept of the right to public space suggests that market management must consider the need for markets to continually evolve over time while maintaining public access and enriching the public life of the market. Borough Market is a good example of adaptation with a new food market operating alongside an old wholesale food market, both serving different 'publics'.

- 2 Particularly in London, the public is composed of multiple groups with different ethnicities, ages, and religions. Fraser (1990) called this 'multiple publics' and Young (1990) referred to this as a 'community of difference'. Therefore, traditional markets serve a wide and

diverse group of publics. The role of management is in appreciating the diversity of the user groups, with the need to accept a wide range of informal behaviours to maintain this healthy diversity and to project an atmosphere of tolerance.

In reality, in markets such as Petticoat Lane, traders' DIY management led to other issues, so the management should be involved to reduce tensions over uses and focus on the fit between market uses by the various user groups so that they can co-exist harmoniously in the marketplace.

3 Aligned to the concept of the right to access to public space for all and the importance of the public life of a city is the concept of traditional markets as a public good and an historical part of London's collective memory. As a centre of community and social activity, traditional markets also provide an economic use that addresses the need for consumption but also for jobs. Traditional markets are an acceptable use of public space and contribute to the social vitality as long as they are well managed.

For management, economic viability and social vitality are important agendas as part of the strategic vision for the market, which should be integrated with community needs. The dual responsibilities also stress a strategic plan with a vision for a successful market exemplified by Borough Market in order to develop and sustain economic vitality.

4 Lynch (1960), Jacobs (1961), Whyte (1980) and Gehl (1987) concur that it is the life on the streets between buildings, in the public realm, that plays a significant part in giving a city its character and its meaning. Traditional markets as part of the public realm contribute to this city life, and act as local centres that bring communities together and give them their identity. Markets are spaces for commerce with shopping and trading but market promotion and events invite more people to visit and use the marketplace. When they stay longer, they have more opportunities for encounters with other people.

Relationships between shoppers and traders generate a positive social atmosphere at a human scale. When markets are well managed, the social atmosphere links more people and encourages regular visits. Accordingly, management should reinforce the working network between diverse types of activities. In doing this, markets interject a different type of rhythm of use into public space that enlivens and enriches the public realm, as detailed by Lefebvre (1991d). The diverse patterns of use lead to interesting findings such as the diverse types of customers and traders in each market. In this point of view, management needs to be aware

that diverse patterns of use are a key consideration which leads to vital social space for the socio-economically diverse local community.

5 In the social dimension of public space, Carr et al. (1992) described the requirements for a successful public realm as one that nurtured encounters, had meaning for its users, created a sense of belonging and attachment, and was comfortable, relevant, engaging, and stimulating. Perceptions of safety and security, and the availability of seating, protection from weather, and public toilets are important. Events, accessibility and legibility of the marketplace are qualities that management should facilitate. Traditional markets satisfy many of these psychological needs but may struggle to remain relevant and provide the physical setting to support the social needs of users in contemporary society. In reality, a degree of over-management in the case of Borough Market is more effective in terms of users' positive perception about their psychological needs.

6 Above all, the types of products are critical to attract people, as mentioned by Watson and Studdert (2006). Markets are spaces for commerce that have developed their spatial types and offer various types of produce and products. Specialist markets dealing with antiques, food, and farm produce tend to be easily created, which suggest they can revitalise even traditional markets in inner London. Borough Market is a good example of a food retail market, introduced to operate alongside an old wholesale market. Petticoat Lane is an example of a market struggling to remain relevant and offer products that attract customers, while its physical setting is showing signs of neglect, due to lack of maintenance, and lack of facilities to support a vital social space.

7 Gehl (1987) and Whyte (1980) focused on the activities in public space, the needs of the users for elements such as seating, gathering areas, protection from weather, toilets, legibility, and good connections to other areas of the city.

The most successful markets strive to provide these physical elements to support a viable social space. The research methodology was informed by those used by Gehl and Whyte of non-participant observation, extensive note taking, photographic and time-movement studies, in order to observe how public spaces are used, and what the most successful public spaces provide for their users. The concept highlights the need for slack space for eating and resting which is critical in Borough Market as a food market. Active management and partnership working between stakeholders is necessary to manage slack space effectively.

8 Carmona et al. (2008), Lynch (1981), Carr et al. (1992) and Francis (1989) reinforced the need for effective public space management to enable public space to be used and enjoyed by the greatest number of people. Their concepts related to spatial control and management to benefit users, and these defined the parameters for the fieldwork investigations.

The research suggested that critical management issues included: clearly articulating the aspirations or vision for the market and its public spaces; the market management having adequate knowledge and skills; an emphasis on monitoring and evaluation of market activities, including on-going adjustments to address ever changing needs; programming to benefit the largest number of users and to reduce tensions; communication with all stakeholders; and securing adequate funds and investment to keep the market operating optimally.

9 Lefebvre (1991d) and De Certeau (1984) focused on the practices of everyday life in the city and the right to the public realm. Traditional markets also involve everyday activities and establish rhythms of uses and activities in the public realm. The rhythms in Borough Market as a thriving, bustling public space are very different from the slower and more community oriented pace in Petticoat Lane. However, the rhythms of the office workers visiting markets at weekday lunchtimes, and tourists on weekends are rhythms affecting both markets. The fate of the declining Petticoat Lane and the thriving Borough Market seems to be related to whether the markets adapt the patterns of use, types of users and their vision based on a proper understanding of the challenges from the local context.

10 The role of the markets as a public good are challenged when the nature of their customers is limited by the ability to pay caused, in the case of Borough Market, for the high prices of the goods now being offered to more affluent customers. Congestion as a bi-product of success in a market can also lead to segregation and exclusion. The danger is that the market is transformed from being a public good in public space to being just another homogenised shopping precinct, much as Covent Garden has become a congested tourist attraction. The public access to the public space is reduced, and the use of the public space for the community is limited. Management then has to make a decision about the priorities for the space - it is a space for trading or for the community as an amenity space.

With policy currently supporting economic growth of traditional markets, it would seem that the public is better served by having a successful market in their area which supports jobs and the local economy. Nonetheless, social activities and atmosphere are as important as the economic role to sustain markets. This is a dilemma for the market management - how to balance the economic and social needs of all users including the local community.

11 The conceptual framework which proposed the research focus on the relationship between market uses, market management and the physicality of the marketplace was useful in setting a direction for the research, and establishing the two important areas of economic viability and social vitality that is required by all markets in order to survive. The two case studies illustrated the problems when an imbalance arises between these two areas.

Using key concepts and investigating the dynamics between use and management, the conceptual framework, therefore, provided a viable structure for the research. The historic character of their urban contexts or the physicality of the marketplace - more significant in the case of Borough Market - affects this relationship. If the physical marketplace is well managed and maintained, then this enhances the market activities.

## 9.7 Conclusions

The findings from the fieldwork research revealed the complex nature of traditional markets and their management. On a practical level, micro-management is the key for inner London's markets as public space. Market management must address the needs of the traders, the shoppers, the local and wider communities, as well as complying with all current regulations and policies for public space. Borough Market management used a partnership approach involving community and private sector bodies to good effect, achieving responsive micro-management that addressed challenges, tensions and opportunities. Petticoat Lane, on the other hand, was managed by the local authority and experienced issues with fragmented responsibilities for market management within the council, poor communication with other stakeholders, particularly the traders, and a poor responsiveness to challenges and tensions that arose during market operations. As a result, Petticoat Lane is a market in decline.

The detailed findings covered the wide variety of tasks included in market management. Watson and Studdert (2006) in their study of traditional markets highlighted the key areas that management must address such as an appropriate product range that is suitable to market users, and an in-depth knowledge of the market with regard to the type of traders and users. This was found to be relevant for both case study markets, especially high with quality products for a local and wider community in inner London. However, for a market in decline, it is even more important to understand traders' needs and motives in running a market stall so that targeted support can be provided, where possible. Borough Market already has training for new and existing traders, and a job creation programme for new traders, in an effort to

maintain the success of the market and support links with the local community. Furthermore, as location and physicality are critical for markets to attract users, management should enhance proactively accessibility, connectivity, permeability and legibility, and market amenities as a local space.





chapter  
**10**

C o n c l u s i o n

## 10. Conclusions

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### 10.1 Introduction

London's traditional markets are complex and continually evolving in the context of the city's rapidly changing urban environment. This research has explored the nature and management of London's traditional markets as urban public places and the market management practices that are used to maintain them as economically viable and socially vital public spaces. A number of recommendations will be made, as a result of the typological analysis which provided a database of information about inner London's markets, and from the two case studies. The recommendations will focus on the way forward for London's traditional markets and the crucial role of market management in facilitating successful market operations. This will then provide an answer to the research question. The conclusions will draw together the results of the primary and secondary research to offer some broad reflections on the future for traditional markets in inner London, and present this research study's list of the four requirements of the successfully managed traditional market. This final chapter also reflects on the research process, the research journey and the outcomes, and makes some recommendations for further research in this area. The originality and contribution of this research will also be briefly revisited.

In this investigation, an holistic approach was adopted throughout the theoretical and empirical research. It was informed by a review of the multi-disciplinary academic literature on public space, public life and traditional markets, and the experience, operation, and impact of markets on the local communities. This led to the development of a conceptual framework for the research study based on the relationship between use, management and physicality. From the discussions and analysis chapter, this research contributes to: an holistic understanding of complex urban environments such as marketplaces; a knowledge base for market management policies and practices; and a better understanding of the tools used to analyse the processes occurring in urban public places such as markets. In doing so, it reflects on the dynamic relationship between use, management and physicality.

## 10.2 Recommendation: The Way Forward for Traditional Markets

Many of London's traditional markets are evolving. They are complex environments reshaped by interactions between processes of use, management and physicality. An holistic understanding of complex urban environments such as traditional markets contributes to a better appreciation of management's role in sustaining and enhancing these public places. This role is critical in cities where economic development influenced by globalisation tends to raise concerns for communities about the increasing privatisation of the existing public realm. However, public places can continue to thrive with new users and accommodate new needs and uses, with the support of effective public space management.

Markets are socially constructed spaces that serve users' needs. As Fraser (1990) and Young (1990) stated, the users that markets serve represent a community of difference composed of diverse groups in age, gender, ethnicity and class, so that a market is serving multiple publics. In any given local area, it then becomes difficult to decide exactly which publics a traditional market should best serve, especially in a rapidly changing urban environment such as London. Since the economic recession in 2008, market management has long pursued new opportunities for economic growth choosing to serve more affluent users. Markets that are thriving are those that are catering to these new users in their local area, at the expense of existing users of long-standing who may be from a low-income demographic.

Nevertheless, people visit markets for commerce and social interaction, and different users can be integrated and enrich the multiple publics. Allowing all users to benefit from markets and the social experience available there needs to be a priority for management. This study proposes strategic initiatives for the regeneration of markets at the city level, and for the creation of better management practices at the local level.

### **At the London level, the study proposes:**

- 1. Regeneration of London's traditional markets** to reinforce a positive social environment that sustains their economic viability and social vitality.

A positive social environment is the character of London's traditional markets. One of the challenges that London's markets are facing is gentrification, which is influenced by globalisation, and related to economic development plans focusing on the City of London and adjacent areas. An increasing number of markets dealing in antiques, artisan food, or farm

produce and managed by private sector bodies characterise the new face for London's markets, perhaps reflecting a change in those that have hitherto traded predominantly in general products and produce, and been managed by local authorities. Considering the preferences of affluent market users arising from the gentrification of many local areas, the trend towards a more complex market environment is likely to continue. This complexity includes new payment methods, increasing competition from online shopping, and continuing change in the demographics of both traders and market users.

In particular, in inner London, office workers visiting markets at weekday lunchtimes are emerging as dominant users, coming for lunch and refreshments with their colleagues. As local markets serving needs in the local area, this trend will be an opportunity not only for newly developed markets on borrowed non-market spaces but also for traditional markets. The positive social environments invite more people to spend more time in the markets. The changing economic and social environment in which markets exist demonstrates the need for micro-management using a partnership approach with all stakeholders being actively and constructively involved.

**At the local level, this study proposes:**

## **2. Strategies with a vision for the market**

Strategies to sustain market value need a strategic approach to ensure effective coordination of the efforts of all stakeholders and negotiations to address local needs. In particular, a strategic vision for the future of a local market should consider changing local needs, and attempt to combine these with the needs of tourists and affluent new users in a way that does not lead to local users' self-segregation. After all, tourists are important market users who appreciate the market for its cultural significance and also contribute to its economic survival. Strategic vision for all markets needs to be formulated by management in partnership with all stakeholders including traders, shoppers, and the local community.

**- Need for an appropriate range of goods to sell.** The decision has to be made about what type of market it is, and how this fits into the market environment of inner London as a whole. Borough Market has selected niche specialist food. Petticoat Lane has remained a clothes market although African textiles are now sold in the market. Petticoat Lane management needs to decide how they can adapt their product range

to make it more appealing, and relevant. The 'adapt to survive' slogan from the initial quote in the Introduction is very relevant here.

- **Need for the development of a realistic yet innovative strategic vision.** This needs to be done in partnership. Petticoat Lane's current vision as a bulwark against gentrification is interesting, but not sufficient as a viable vision going forward.

### **3. Instigating Market Management Partnerships**

Partnership between private and public sector bodies are useful to balance social vitality and economic viability. A positive partnership between private and public sectors works well, as illustrated in the Borough Market case study with BMT, the BID, Southwark Cathedral and the local authority working together. They are motivated by the aim to achieve economic viability, social vitality, accessibility and the long term sustainability of the market to serve the local community.

### **4. Funding and investment**

**To support traditional markets represents** an on-going struggle, particularly for local authority managed markets. The fees from trading licences do not normally cover the costs of managing the markets properly, so other sources of funding need to be pursued. In this respect, investment and resources are particularly important. Fundraising needs to be on the list of management tasks. As important forums of public space, state funding should also be offered. Government subsidy, effective use of policies, and working across institutions or council departments, with voluntary sector bodies, local community groups, and businesses, are suggested as ways of securing investment and resources for on-going market operations.

**At the market spaces themselves, the study proposes:**

### **5. Micro-management of use**

The key to managing London's markets as complex urban public spaces lies in their careful micro-management. This approach offers the flexibility to address opportunities and resolve tensions as they arise.

- **Coordination and negotiation of uses and services** must be effective, reflecting current patterns of use. However, taking immediate decisions relies on monitoring of



use and communication with users to understand the full implications of opportunities and tensions.

- **Management needs to be responsive to the on-going needs of traders and customers.** This represented a clear finding from the case study research. Monitoring of needs, communication with traders and shoppers, communication within the management partnership, continual feedback from users, traders and the community seemed to create a winning combination in Borough Market.

- **Effective micro-management.** The case studies illustrated the wide range of tasks that market management needs to deal with, and this makes the job too onerous for just one person, as in the case of Petticoat Lane. An effective team is therefore required in order to deal with the various aspects of the market that need to be addressed, from daily operations to management of tasks for the market as a whole including proactive management such as marketing, promotion, organisation of events, job training, links with the community, and creative responses to new challenges.

**The management practices should consider:**

- access routes from transport nodes, and main streets,
- layout of market stalls for ease of movement,
- market appearance,
- display advertising products
- friendly traders for a welcoming atmosphere,
- maintenance,
- cleaning for accessibility and attractiveness,
- patrolling by security guards or market wardens, and CCTV for safety and security,
- signage along access routes,
- community events, festivals and town trail walks, including school trips,
- seating (cafe outdoor seats, benches or informal seats),

- protection from the weather,
- the provision of food stalls,
- public toilets for market amenity.

To manage the market amenities effectively and responsively, management should be aware of patterns of use, where, when and how customers use the market, as well as the types of users.

## **6. Elements related to patterns of market use**

An appropriate range and quality of products, the layout of market sites with lynchpin stalls such as food vans and stalls, marketing, branding, promotion, suitable types of stall licenses and tenure arrangements, opening days and hours, and parking and facilities for traders, are also important to attract traders. A market also needs safety and security, accessibility, legibility, and amenities in order to facilitate people's needs, and provide more opportunities to encounter others. These market amenities can assist economic viability as well as social vitality.

The following table relates the conceptual framework to the issues identified in the management practices list on the previous page. This list was also used as the basis for the topics reviewed in the 2017 interviews with the market managers and traders in Petticoat Lane and Borough Market. The list focuses primarily on the management concepts in the conceptual framework in Chapter 3. There were over-arching issues also addressed at the outset in the strategic aspects of market management which are included in the table.

**Table 10A. Management practices for inner London's markets related to the six elements in the conceptual framework**

Six elements in the conceptual framework		Focus of management practices for inner London's markets
Responsive management		
Strategic issues	Strategic vision for the market	Vision based on an holistic understanding of the needs of the market users, traders and the community
	Partnership and leadership (communication, funds for investments and resources)	Partnership for greater skills, knowledge, expertise and resources as well as funding for investment in the market
	Detailed on-site management	Micro-management of market operations
Practical issues	Types of products	Types and ranges of products (quality and price)  Marketing and branding (market's own website, media, events, own designed shopping bags and history books, and partnership with local gallery)  Licenses and trading facilities (tenure arrangements with lease and casual licence, trading facilities such as parking, storage, resting space and training incentives, protection from weather and maintenance)
	Accessibility	Access (gateways and exits) from public transport, main streets and other tourist attractions  Layout of stalls for ease movement and for perception of the vital market  Opening times and hours for access and for perception of the vital market  Market appearance (display, designed stalls and historic features)  Cleaning and waste collection  Patrolling, security guards and CCTV
	Surrounding land uses	Types of products in the retail units of the surrounding local areas
	Legibility	Signage (signs, flowers, banners, murals and community boards)  Community events (festivals, school trips and tourist trails)
	Market amenities	Seating (benches, outdoor café seats and informal seats)  Covered areas for protection from the weather, Public toilets

Source: author's own summary

### 10.3 Revisiting the research question: how can we manage urban public space for all, especially London's traditional markets?

The discussion and analysis of the findings from the typological analysis and case studies has revealed some interesting insights into traditional market management. As with most organisations in a large global city such as London, the complexity of the environment in which traditional markets now operate is substantial. Effective market management is needed now more than ever before to address the dual responsibilities to maintain a market's economic viability as well as its social vitality, as vibrant areas in the public realm. Social vitality of markets is also closely connected to political value. Mingling and encountering of diverse user groups suggests that markets are spaces available to all people.

This study of the activities in the two case study markets, one in decline and the other, thriving, has revealed very detailed information about the management of the two markets which provides a sense of what is going right and wrong as a result of management practices. Successful partnership is important for effective and responsive management facilitating the dynamic relationship between use, management and physicality. The lessons provided by the success of the partnership in Borough Market, and the challenges presented for Petticoat Lane as a retail market dealing in clothes and general goods that is acutely affected by competition in the retail sector as a whole, is instructive for traditional markets generally. It is interesting that the private markets being set up are targeting niche growth areas of artisan food, crafts, antiques, and farmers' markets. Petticoat Lane therefore has the most difficult challenge to decide on its future role and target market without giving up its allegiance to the local community which is now composed of mixed user groups from council housing and new residential and office developments.

This research has attempted to provide some recommendations that highlight the successes of Borough Market, that may be useful in the case of Petticoat Lane, but that are also generalisable for all traditional markets in urban areas. Management is an important aspect of market operations. The research asked:

How does market management ensure the economic viability and social vitality of inner London's traditional markets, and respond to the challenges, tensions and opportunities presented in such complex inner city environments?

In making revisions to this thesis, the research focus and main research questions were amended to clarify the emphasis on market management. The research aims, investigations

and findings have always targeted market management as the key variable in establishing a traditional market's success. The revised thesis emphasized this by highlighting public space and market management in Chapter 2, and the management dimension of urban space in Chapter 3, with a list detailing the strategic and practical management issues to be investigated in the fieldwork.

The research questions were then amalgamated into one more focused question that targeted market management, asking how it facilitated and supported successful market operations. This new research question with objectives and sub-objectives clarified the focus of the research and established the steps in the process of the research investigations.

Methodologically different market management regimes were sought out and underpinned the justification for the selection of the two case study markets, Petticoat Lane and Borough Market. In order to understand the market management of the two markets, the research methods were structured in a sequence; 1) observation of use; 2) interviews to understand users' perceptions of the markets; and, 3) interviews with managers to explore the management responses to the challenges, opportunities and tensions which were identified in 1) and 2). From a detailed review of the market management practices, the answer to the research question can be summarised by listing the four requirements for successful market management, developed from these case studies:

- 1        A market needs first and foremost an appropriate and relevant product offering that ensures continuing economic viability to attract users and support public life.
- 2        This product range needs to emanate from a strategic vision for the market that acknowledges its historic importance to the city as a whole, and its economic and social importance to its local area while endeavouring to establish an innovative yet realistic way forward. Management also needs to understand the challenges from the global change in retail trends, and gentrification, and the opportunities and tensions, considering traditional markets as a retail type.
- 3        A market needs a responsive and adequately resourced market management that can then focus on issues such as safety and security, accessibility, legibility, and amenity. Management should consider that market amenity can include slack space for temporary uses responding to changing needs represented by patterns of use over time. A responsive and adequately resourced market management can ensure delivery of the vision, for continued economic viability and social vitality. Careful micro-management of the market as a space

ensuring coordination of uses and negotiation of solutions to needs, and pro-active management to include marketing, branding and promotion, are essential.

4 A partnership approach to market management that includes the local authority, the community and a BID (or other means to engage and involve local businesses), ensures that all stakeholders are involved, and play a part in maintaining a viable and vital market. It should identify stakeholders' needs through good relationships and communication. Management needs to develop leadership on the basis of aspirations for public space and the social vitality of public life.

From the findings of this research study, the role and importance of market management is very clear. Within a complex urban environment such as London, traditional markets require effective market management as they adapt to survive in a continually changing urban environment. Whilst on the face of it some of these recommendations may seem obvious, the fact that they are not happening in many traditional markets across London suggests that the obvious sometimes needs re-stating and justifying to drive it home to the 'powers that be'.

## 10.4 Reflections on the research process, research journey, outcomes and the originality of the research

The research set out to review the nature of London's traditional markets and the key concepts related to the public use of public space. This proved to be a significant task in that there are many views on the nature of public space and on whether it is thriving or declining. Privatisation of public space is a recurring theme, while gentrification as a result of economic development seems to be a threat to many neighbourhoods. Additionally, markets as an economic activity in public space are challenged by the rise of online shopping. Therefore the topic area seemed to expand beyond what was first anticipated, which was a study of traditional markets. The situation in urban markets in a global city seems more complex due to the equally complex and evolving contextual issues.

The methodology attempted to observe and record the activities within and use of the public space of the case study markets. This was a challenge for a sole researcher. In order to focus on observation, counting of users over a fixed period of time, mapping of routes taken by users through the markets, and time-movement studies, the researcher had to visit the market on multiple occasions. Although modern technology was used to record and map the activities, it



was still a considerable challenge. Therefore the process of the research was complex and time consuming.

The research journey began in 2005 with the fieldwork investigations being undertaken in 2008 and 2009. The preparation of the thesis itself took substantial time, to analyse the data and to prepare the maps and photographs to illustrate the findings. By the time the thesis was submitted in 2015, there was then a need to update the fieldwork to reflect any changes that had taken place in the two case study markets. This was done between 2015 and 2017, culminating in interviews with managers and traders in both markets in February 2017.

During such a lengthy research period, an interesting picture of both markets emerged, and reinforced the main conclusions of the thesis. Petticoat Lane is still a struggling street market, managed by a slow moving local authority bureaucracy. Borough Market is thriving even more than before, although the congestion of the market on Saturdays and problems associated with over-crowding and litter-strewn streets suggest that it may have become a victim of its own success.

The long time period of the research study has therefore provided a good perspective on the key role of market management, and the need for a dedicated partnership management team to deal with all the complex strategic and practical issues that must be addressed to ensure a successful market operation. There has also been more time to reflect on the nature of traditional markets in urban areas such as London and the key role they play in animating public space, connecting the community, and contributing to a vibrant and interesting public realm.

The outcomes from this protracted research study provided many insights into the functioning of two different market situations, and, whilst the research period has been protracted, it is considered that the essential methodological approach remains robust and, even with the hindsight of the research journey, would not be changed if the work was to be repeated. The focus of the work may have evolved, but the issues which led to the research in the first place remain the same.

It was unfortunate that not all of the interviews with key stakeholders could be obtained in the original fieldwork, as this would have provided a more complete picture of the management approaches in the two markets. However, the results of market management could be inferred by observing the way in which the markets operated. The research process therefore led to some valid and interesting results that justified the research design and the conceptual

framework which directed the focus of the investigation. In the update to the research, further interviews with market managers filled the gaps in knowledge and reconfirmed the original findings.

### **The originality of the research**

The originality of the research was provided by the new perspective on markets in focusing on their management. The conceptual framework highlighted the relationship between a market's use and management, but this was also impacted by a market's physicality. The tremendous benefits of Borough Market's location, physical form and context, illustrate the advantages provided by good physicality. Petticoat Lane has many challenges to overcome in this regard. The research also updated past studies by Watson and Studdert (2006) and the government sponsored reports on markets that recommended attention to management amongst their recommendations. This research updated these recommendations, emphasising micro-management and market management partnerships involving as broad a mix of stakeholders as possible, with illustrations of the benefits of these recommendations. Borough Market again illustrated the strength of having the local BID included on the management team, for its expertise, local business knowledge, responsiveness, resources and funding. Therefore, this research updates knowledge in the area, with results from original, detailed fieldwork investigations of two inner London markets. As a result, the findings both reinforce and update current knowledge and provide targeted recommendations for traditional markets in complex urban environments.

## **10.5 Recommendations for Further Study**

The findings of this study can be put to effective use now and in the near future. The pressures on London's markets that this research revealed relate to the general challenges of managing a market in a global city, the on-going impacts of changing shopping habits within the retail sector as a whole, and the impacts on markets and their local communities of new economic development as guided by the policies of local governments and the GLA for locations across London. The resulting socio-economic changes are rapid and seemingly unstoppable and continue to shape London at both the strategic and local scales.

This research contributes to our understanding of traditional public space and public marketplaces that exist within these changing socio-economic, local and policy contexts, with

case studies that show markets are extremely sensitive to such changes. It addressed methods to understand uses and needs, and developed a checklist to assess management responses from the analysis of effectiveness in the relationship between use, physicality and management. Subsequent research on other types of public space including privately managed markets in cities will afford the opportunity to implement and refine the research framework, and to further analyse the techniques defined in this research – all in the pursuit of providing quality public places to serve people’s needs, uses and rights, enabling commerce, consumption and social interaction to take place in London’s markets.

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**Appendix 4-1 Fieldwork note card - observation**

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Petticoat Lane Space A

Date and times of observation:

Weather:

Types of activity: standing/ sitting

Times/ locations	Around retail units	Around stalls	Outdoor cafes	Corners (a)	On the road	Advertising traders	Empty stalls, chairs or ladders	Choir	filming
10.30am									
11.30am									
12.00am									
12.30pm									
13.00pm									
13.30pm									
14.00pm									
15.00pm									
15.30pm									
16.00pm									



**Appendix 4-2 Fieldwork note card - author's perception**

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Petticoat Lane Space A

Date and times of observation:

Weather:

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#### Appendix 4-3 Interview guide for interview with customers

Topics		Interview questions	Expectation
User groups		Place to live (post code), occupations, age, gender and ethnicity  How long have you used in this market?  How often do you visit the market?	Local residents (council housing/developed offices and residence), visitors and tourists
Reasons to visit		What has brought you to the market today? if not use, why?	economic exchange, consumption or psychological need
Preference on conditions		Where did you visit today? What do you like (or dislike) about this market? and why?	Spaces in and around market
	Types, quality and price of product	What are prices like on this market? Are types and quality of product important for you to visit this market?	Product, e.g. quality, price and ranges of product
	Social atmosphere  Signage and events	Do you find traders friendly?  Do you find space to sit easily? do signs help you to find this market?  Are events attractive to you?	Market atmosphere related to sociality, e.g. friendly traders.  For cultural aspect of use, e.g. signs around public transport, tourist attractions, events and congestion, ...
	Historic feature, Attractive design, safety, cleanliness and availability of seating	Does this market have historic feature?  Is the market visually good? How do you think the arrangement of stalls?  How clean is this market?  How safe is this market?  Is formal seat important?	Safety, e.g. presence of security guards and CCTV, traders' self-regulation....
	Management	What has this market changed over the last few years? and do you visit more or less often?  What do you think could improve this market?	Improvement of qualities at present and in the near future
		When do (or don't) you usually come? And why?	Opening days and times
How would you score the conditions and days (1 to 6)?			

#### Appendix 4-4 Interview guide for interview with traders

Topics	Interview questions	Expectations
	<p>Place to live (post code), occupations, age, gender and ethnicity</p> <p>How long have you been a trader in this market?</p> <p>How often do you have a stall in this market?</p> <p>Do you operate stalls at any other market? If so, which and how often?</p>	
Reasons to visit	<p>Why do you come to the market?</p> <p>Are you working on full-time/part-time?</p> <p>Do you have aspirations for the expansion of your business?</p>	Economic motives, i.e. make a living or business success
User groups	Who do you think your customers?	Local residents (council housing/developed offices and residence), visitors and tourists
customers' preferences on conditions	<p>Are types, quality and price of produce attractive to customers?</p> <p>Do you think your customers like this market? Is the market comfortable environment to them?</p> <p>How clean is this market?</p> <p>How safe is this market?</p> <p>Is the market visually good? and, is it important for the market?</p>	Types, quality and price of produce, social atmosphere, Historic feature, Attractive design, safety, cleanliness and availability of seating, signs and events
Management	<p>What do you like (or dislike) about this market? and why?</p> <p>What has this market changed over the last few years?</p> <p>What do you think could improve this market? Does the market need advertising or marketing?</p> <p>How do you communicate with other traders and managers?</p>	Official and unofficial management in trading facilities, opening days and times, and maintenance

**Appendix 4-5 Interview guide for interview with managers**

Topics	Interview questions	Expectations
	<p>Do you think market as public space?</p> <p>Is this market important economically, socially and culturally in your local area?</p>	The importance market as public space and its value
User groups	Who are the users? and, how do you think gentrification affect this market?	Local residents (council housing/developed offices and residence), visitors and tourists
Users' preferences on conditions	<p>Are types, quality and price of produce attractive to customers?</p> <p>Is the market comfortable environment to customers?</p> <p>How clean is this market?</p> <p>How safe is this market?</p> <p>Is the market visually good? and, is it important for the market?</p>	Types, quality and price of produce, social atmosphere , Historic feature, attractive design, safety, cleanliness, availability of seating, signs and events
Management	<p>What are the tensions to access and uses in the market?</p> <p>Who are stakeholders? and how do you communicate with them?</p> <p>What are management plans responding to the conflicts? Is promoting or advertising important to the market? and how do you support investment and resource?</p>	<p>decline or congestion, use against regulation, and ownership in spaces</p> <p>on the spot, meetings, feedback, ...</p> <p>application of regulations and legislation, actions for legibility and maintenance in a strategic partnership</p>

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008	
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product			
	LONDON BOROUGH OF ISLINGTON (6)								
	Islington farmers market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market		Reference				
								•	
			Casual use (Sun: 10am-2pm)	farmers' market	local users (middle class)	Four Criteria	Islington market has moved to William Tyndale School in 1991 William tyndale school, Essex road, Islington, N1  organic foodstuff from areas around London		
	Nag's Head	borrowed space	private	70	Reference				
						•	•		
						•	•	•	
		daily use	General market	local users (working class of local residents)	Four Criteria	1980s-until the late 1980s- a patch of wasteland near the pub that has given its name to the busy junction of Holloway Road and Seven sisters road/ developers' plan - a Safeway store- a battle involving locals, stallholders, the developers and the council- granted a permanent (should becompact and sanitised) 22 seven sisters road, Holloway, N7  Fruit and vegetable, bric-a-brac,and bargain clothes (We, Sun)			
Exmouth Market	Street market	LB of Islington	20 (decreasing from 100)	Reference					
					•	•			
					•	•			
		casual use (Thurs-Sat: 10am-5pm, decreased from daily use)	General market	lunchtime of businessmen/ local people on French market	Four Criteria	started in 1892, gentrification in the mid of 1990s-café, restaurant selling spanish food, spanish delicatssen, only a couple of stall-holders are remained by 1999, now, only one stall for seafood, it has gained a new vigour following the advent of the French traders- attract more local traders  near the junction of Farringdon road and Rosebery Avenue, Finsbury, EC1 cutting-edge shops, bars and restaurants have opened to cater for Clerkenwell's new population of trend savvy 'creative' office workers Exotic food stuff (French), clothes, fruit and vegetables, and household goods			
Whitecross Street	Street market	LB of Islington	50 (1980s and declining)	Reference					
					•	•			
					•	•			
		daily use (Mon-Fri: 10.30am-2.30pm)	General market	lunchtime of businessmen and shop keepers, majority of product is for office women	Four Criteria	Recorded in 1226, street trading started in the 17th century Whitecross Street, between Old street and Sutton's way, Finsbury, EC1 Modern office buildings fruit and vegetables, and general stuffs			
Chapel Market	Street market	LB of Islington	160 (increased from 70 in 1980s)	Reference					
						•	•		
					•	•	•		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		

		daily use (Tue, Wed, Fri: 9am-6pm/ Thur, Sun: 9am-4pm)	General market	local users	Four Criteria	started in 1866, officially in 1879, the name of the street changed to Chapel market in 1936, polarizarion between fashionable middle-class ( Barnsbury)and working class population (Pentonville road) between Liverpool road and Penton street, Islington, N1 superstores - Sainsbury, Woolworth, Marks and Spencer/Angel shopping centre/retail, near Camden passage, office block, bank headquarters Fruit and vegetables, household goods and Clothes		
Camden Passage	Street market	LB of Islington + private	6	Reference				•
						•	•	•
						•	•	•
						•	•	•
		daily use (Weds: 7am-2pm, Sats: 8am-4pm/books- Thurs: 7am-4pm)	Specialist market	middle class people	Four Criteria	established by John Friend, the surge of interest in antique in 1960, galleries were built out of the disused warehouse with a black galss canopy for the open market in early 1970s, recently, at the south end of Camden Passage converted into antique shops, farmers' market opened in 1999 but not anymore, event in the basement on Sat 8am-2pm (Military market) off Islington high street, the mall antique arcade, Upper street, Islington, N1 local shops, Chapel market, office blocks, Stalls, shops, and an enclosed mall antique, and bric-a-brac		

## LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN (17)

Electric Ballroom	borrowed space	Private		Reference			
					•		
	Casual use (Suns: 10am-5pm)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	live music venue in 1938 and market in 1994 Camden high street, night club, south of junction with Dewsbury Terrace, NW1 near Camden market, Camden lock market, and Canal market Clothes		
Hampstead Community Market	borrowed space	Community		Reference			
					•	•	
	casual use (Sat-Sun: 10am-6pm, decreased from daily use in 1980s)	General market	local users	Four Criteria		•	•
					on the Blue Star Garage site on the east side of high street in1975, the site developed and market moved to the community centre Community centre, 78 Hampstead high street, NW3 Upmarket leaning (Antique, book, arts/crafts) General food, antique, arts, crafts and exotic food		
Primrose Hill farmers' market	borrowed space			Reference			
							•
	Casual use (Sat: 9am-1pm)	farmers' market		Four Criteria	Primrose Hill School Princess Road NW1 organic foodstuff from areas around London		
Swiss Cottage farmers' market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market	25	Reference			
					•		•



# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
Queens Park farmers' market	Casual use (Wed: 10am-3pm)	farmers' market			Four Criteria	in 2008, temporary home until building works are completed in Finchley Road Car park of the O2 centre, Finchley road, NW2 organic foodstuff from areas around London		
	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market			Reference			•
Swiss Cottage	Casual use (Sun: 10am-2pm)	farmers' market			Four Criteria	Salisbury Primary School, Salisbury Road organic foodstuff from areas around London		
	Street market	Private	20		Reference		•	•
Inverness Street Market	Daily use (Sat/ Tues and Fri-Sun: 9am-5pm)	General market	local users		Four Criteria	a concrete square near a community centre in 1970s, from the beginning, council tried to close it down to develop sports centre with housing, fence was erected to restrict the size, protest by local community in 1979, developed to offices, the market is currently on a temporary site in College Crescent until the end of 2004, when a new site will open in Eton Avenue in 1981 The square, Corner of Winchester road and Eton avenue, north of Swiss cottage Baths and Library, NW3 french food, secondhand clothes, books, bric-a-brac, and fresh flowers		
	Street market	LB of Camden	36		Reference	•	•	•
Queens Crescent	daily use (Mon-Fri: 8.30am-5pm)	general market			Four Criteria	started in Camden High Street in 1860, forced to side streets because of the heavy traffic in 1900, some stalls moved to Plender street in 1946, a survivor from earlier times, a small street market that supplies local people with extremely cheap fruit and veg. Inverness street, between Camden high street and Arlington road, Camden, NW1 Fruit and vegetable, Food (European and Oriental), junk secondhand goods		
	Street market	LB of Camden	77		Reference	•	•	•
Queens Park farmers' market	Casual use (Thurs morning: 9am-1.30pm, Sats: 9am-5pm)	general market	Irish, Jameican and Asian people, local users		Four Criteria	started in 1860s, Malden Road was redeveloped, and market was sparse in the early 1970s, recently, the street was influx by the middle class and its fashions-potential to be Queens Crescent, between Grafton and Molden roads, Kentish town, NW5 Victorian streets filled with local shops women's clothes. household goods and general stuff (fruit and vegetables and clothes), and event- trading from other market during the week		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)	Location	Surroundings	Product
Plender Street	Street market	LB of Camden	11 (decreased from 90)	Reference	•			
	Casual use (Fri-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	Plender street, camden, NW1			Fruit, vegetables, household goods and clothes
Chalton Street	Street market	LB of Camden	50 (decreased from 80)	Reference	•	•		
	Casual use (Fri:12pm-2pm, decreasing daily use)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	Chalton street, between Euston road and Phoenix road, NW1			Local grocery shops, ignored by recent redevelopment, council flats, shabby streets and regency terraces, local Indian and Pakistani community
Leather Lane	Street market	LB of Camden	141	Reference	•	•	•	
	daily use (Mon-Fri: 10am-3pm, increasing from casual use)	General market	Local users (working class) in the 19th century, and office workers	Four Criteria	started in the 13th century, it was joined by a meat market opened by Lord Brooke in 1682, this survived until 19th century, working-class market on Fri and Sat in the 19th century, lunchtime market for clerks and office-boys since 1930s, and survived for lunchtime of local workers			Leather lane, between Greville street and Clerkenwell road, Holborn, EC1
Earlham Street	Street market	LB of Camden	22 stalls but not active any more	Reference	•	•		
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 10am-4pm)	General market		Four Criteria	street market on Great Earl street (precedent of Earlham Street market in the 18th century, a bid to rejuvenate the market (a thriving street market would be a better alternative to Closed old market and the location of market can open more to tourist trade) in 1978, it list its thriving after redevelopment of Covent Garden			Earlham street, between Shaftesbury Avenue and Seven Dials, Covent Garden, WC2
Goodge Place	Street market	LB of Camden	5	Reference	•			
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	Goodge place, W1			Cosmopolitan selection of restaurants
								Fresh fish, fruit and vegetables

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND

Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		

Camden Market	Street market	private	200	Reference			
					•		•
					•	•	
	daily use (9.30am-5pm)	General market	Young people	Four Criteria	started in 1974 Buck street, NW1  clothes, bric-a-brac, and household products		

Camden Canal Market	uncovered outdoor market	private	150	Reference			•
					•		
					•	•	
	Casual use (Sat-Sun: 10am-6pm)	Specialist market+ food market	Ethnic and young people	Four Criteria	off Chalk farm road, south of junction with Castlehaven Road, NW1  Bric-a-brac, antiques, and exotic food		

Camden Lock Market	uncovered outdoor market	private	400	Reference		•	•
					•	•	
					•	•	•
	daily use (daily: 10am-6pm)	Specialist market+ food market	Ethnic and young people	Four Criteria	A disused timber wharf, the first phase of restoration created a cluster of workshops in 1973, redevelopment of Dingwalls(old timber waregouse) in 1974, original intention-arts and crafts center of London off Chalk farm road, Camden lock place (East yard, Market hall, Dingwalls gallery, Middle yard, West yard), , NW1 other markets nearby, Main courtyard by the lock and the enovated buildings that surround it arts and crafts, and exotic food		

Stables Market	uncovered outdoor market	private, Stables market (camden) Ltd	250	Reference			
					•		
					•		
					•	•	•
	daily use (daily: 10am-6pm, increasing from casual use)	Specialist market+ food market	Ethnic and young people	Four Criteria	a flea market has been setup and further up beyond the Roundhouse the Primrose market, next to the railway, Historical house stable complex in 1854, old horse of Victorian premise, hospital house, redeveloped since 2002 off Chalk farm road/ opposite junction with Harland road, NW1 near Camden lock market, Canal market vintage clothing, antiques, and exotic food		

CITY OF LONDON (2)							
Leadenhall Market	Covered outdoor market	City of London		Reference			
					•	•	•
					•	•	•
					•	•	•

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipleym&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		

	daily use (Mon-Fri: 7am-4pm)	General market	middle-class people and office workers	Four Criteria	<p>busy meat and poultry market by the mid 17th century, destroyed by fire in 1484, destroyed again by the Great Fire in 1666, the enclosed space was divided into three- the beef market, Green Yard with general shops, and the herb market, with fishmongers and poultry, glass- roofed building by Sir Horce Jones in 1881, from poultry and game→survival with great range of stores for lunch and furniture, Restored</p> <p>Whittington Avenue, off Gracechurch street and Leadenhall street, EC3</p> <p>Victorian food marketoff Gracechurch st, north of Monument, More historic building than a market</p> <p>food stuff(meat and fish), flowers, suits, newspapers, tobacco /wholesale market- Butchers, fishmongers, pubs, seafood, cheeses. Weekdays lunchtimes is busy by business men. Eateries, lively pubs</p>		
Smithfield Market	Covered outdoor market	City of London		Reference			
	daily use (Mon-Fri: 4am-midday)	wholesale market		Four Criteria	<p>started in 1800s, glass- roofed building by Sir Horce Jones</p> <p>Charterhouse street</p> <p>Meat, English breakfast with pint (wholesale market)</p>		

## LONDON BOROUGH OF TOWER HAMLETS (11)

Brick Lane (Club Row)	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	93	Reference			
	Casual use (Suns: 8am-2pm)	Specialist market	Local users, ethnic people	Four Criteria	<p>On sundays, live stock and produce outside the City boundary in the 18th century, Truman black eagle(beer brew-1669)- half a mile from the city of London to escape the taxes imposed by the City authorities/19th century- bird market to the poor, weekly aution of live poultry, but public outrage against the cruelty of birds in captivity in 1920s- 1930s, small animals of all kinds in 1980s, officially designated in 1927, decision by London Brough of Tower Hamlets to change the face of Brick Lane and revoke the existing licenses by 1983, but even in 1973 Club Row existed as a livestock market with Brick lane (the Wild Birds Protection Act in 1934), redevelopment since late 1980s and early 1990s - esigners' and artists' studios, workshops, bars, housing (2000s), council banned the sale of live animals in 1982, Attracting visitors to Bangladesh restaurants, Commercial street was redeveloped by developers, traders moved to the north of Methnal Green Road in 2003</p> <p>Brick lane(north of railway bridge up to Bethnal Green Road), Cheshire street, Bacon street, Cygnet street, Sclater street, E1</p> <p>Victorian terraces and waste land(Perlmutter), provided a home for a succession of refugees, from Huguenot silk-weavers in 18th century to East European Jews in 19th century and to the present-day population of Bangladeshis</p> <p>secondary goods, bric-a-brac, antique, and furniture</p>		
Billingsgate fish market	indoor market	City of London		Reference			
	daily use (Tue-Sat: 5am-8.30am)	wholesale market		Four Criteria	<p>first purpose built market in 1850, glass- roofed building by Sir Horce Jones in 1880s, officially identified as a fish market with an Act of Pallament in 1699, relocated in 1982</p> <p>Trafalgar way, isle of dogs</p>		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	1983 (Perlmutter)	1983 (A. Forshaw)	1987
						1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow)	1989 (1983)	1999 (antique)
						2002 (1996)	2004	2008
						History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)		
						Location		
						Surroundings		
						Product		
Petticoat Lane	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	186 (decreased from 1,000)	Reference		•	•	•
						•	•	•
Petticoat Lane	Daily use (Sun: 9am-2pm/ Mon-Fri: 10am-2.30pm, Sun: 9am-2pm, increasing from casual use)	General market	Ethnic people	Four Criteria		Jewish immigrants from central Europe, Clothing stalls Established by Huguenot lace makers and expanded by Jews Immigrant community in leather and clothing trades in the 18th century, issuing of the license by local council in 1927, change to Indian, Pakistani immigrants moving in/ In the past, notorious by criminals in 1970s		
						Middlesex street and Wentworth street, Aldgate Boundary between London and the county of Middlesex, E1		
Columbia Road flower market	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	52	Reference		•	•	•
						•	•	•
Columbia Road flower market	Casual use (Suns: 8am-2pm)	specialist market (changed from general market)	mixed culture: east enders	Four Criteria		Selling general produce, Jewish immigrants-cabinet making industry-furniture factories and shops, Traders selling general goods moved to Petticoat Lane market Sunday market(because Saturday is Jewish religious day) established, and weekday market disappeared, Covent Garden and Spitalfields cleared on Saturdays in the 19th century, license for specific goods on specific pitches -flower market in 1927, Seasonal (March to July and September to December) and change to all year round trading (In the 60's the council imposed a four week rule), Derelict shops nearby taken over and benefit/gentrification during the last decade-trendy store branch(Fred Bare) and ornament and gift shops		
						Colombia Rd, E2		
Whitechapel Road	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	121	Reference		•	•	•
						•	•	•
Whitechapel Road	daily use (Mon-Sat: 8am-6pm)	General market	traders (local Bangladeshi population, Jewish immigrants) / local users (multi-ethnic people)	Four Criteria		Established by Act of Parliament in as Hay marke in 1708, one of London's main hay markets until 1927, the wide unpaved areas in Whitechapel road, known as the Waste, were being used by street sellers to set up stalls in 1850s, Hosted Jewish settlers(Jewish meat market→moved out of Whitechapel because of City's control for hygiene), Irish dock workers and Bangladeshi workers in the 'rag trade', Mile end waste extension of Whitechapel on Sun		
						Whitechapel Rd, Whitechapel(between Vallance Road&Cambridge Heath Road), E1		
Bethnal Green Road	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	104	Reference		•	•	•
						•	•	•
Bethnal Green Road	daily use (Mon-Wed, Fri-Sat: 9am-5pm, ...)	General market	Local users	erla		started in 1853, 100 costermongers (Henry Mayhew) in 1850s, seven days a week including furniture and junk stalls in 1936, during the week, it straggles with 20 of the 76 pitches taken, but good enough on Fris and Sats		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)	Location	Surroundings	Product
	Thurs: 9am-4pm)			Four Crit	Bethnal green Rd, Bethnal green, E2			
					Shops, and Bethnal green museum of childhood			
Roman Road (new market)	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	211	Reference				
	Daily use (Mon-Sat, Roman Rd-Tue, Thurs, Sat: 9am-5.30pm/Globe town: Mon-Sat: 8.30am-4pm)	General market	women	Four Criteria	Globe town-occupied an purpose-built square off the road since 1961/150 year old Roman road market			
Burdett Road	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	31	Reference				
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	started in 1907			
Lansbury market(Chris p Street)	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	80	Reference				
	daily use (Tues-Sat: 8am-6pm)	General market	local users	Four Criteria	100 years ago, Jewish, gipsy-thrivingAfter the war- pedestrian setting for old market(room and arcade in the middle of market square)			
Watney Street	Street market	LB of Tower Hamlets	90 (increased from 20 in 1980s)	Reference				
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	started in 1863, thriving despite badly bombing in the war, local council decided to redevelop the area-desolate and stark in 1960s, new Watney street market in a modern setting bereft of character and atmosphere			
Cutler Street - CLOSED	Street market			Reference				
	Casual use (Sun: 7am to midday)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	The Cutlers are intent on maximising their earnings, but huge office block is under construction, the pressure of redevelopment, Cutler Street silver market needs a new home			

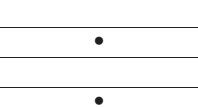
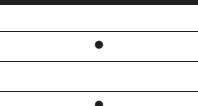
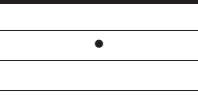
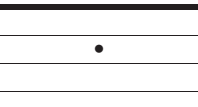


## Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
					Four Cr	Exchange buildings Yard in Cutler street, off Houndsditch, E1		
						silver, gold and coins		
	Old Spitalfields market	covered outdoor market	private		Reference			
							•	•
						•	•	•
						•	•	•
		Daily use (Mon-Fri: 11am-3.30pm, Sun: 10am-3pm, increased from weekends market)	specialist market and food market	middle class people	Four Criteria	Recorded in 1682, wholesale fruit and vegetable market until the early 1990s, warehouse-like buildings were completed in 1893, extended with a flower market in 1930s, moved to premises in Hackney Wick, old buildings now contain several permanent shops and cafes and a new retail market in 1991		
Commercial street, Opposite Liverpool street station on Bishopgate, E1								
				hear Markets (Petticoat lane and Brick lane), small opera house and a model railway on track. Leading contemporary artists and sculptors have their studios				
				Organic food, Bric-a-brac, antiques, exotic food and food stuff				
LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY (7)								
Hackney stadium	borrowed space	LB of Hackney		Reference				
							•	
					•			
	Casual use (Sun: 6am-3pm)	General market		Four Criteria	In the car park of Hackney stadium, Waterden Road, E15			
					Second hand goods, bric-a-brac, and general stuff			
Kingsland Waste	Street market	LB of Hackney	103	Reference				
					•	•		
						•	•	
					•	•		
	Daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	recorded in the mid 19th century			
					Kingsland road, between Middleton Rd and Forest Rd, E8			
				near Ridley road market				
				Spare parts(for electric goods, motor, clock), bicycles, general food, secondhand clothes, and bric-a-brac				
Ridley Road (Dalston Market)	Street market	LB of Hackney	181	Reference		•		
					•	•		
					•	•		
					•	•	•	
	Daily use (Mon-Wed: 9am-3pm, Thurs: 9am-midday, Fri-Sat: 9am-5pm)	General market	Local users, ethnic people	Four Criteria	started in 1850s, officially in 1927, large influx of Jewish immigrants until the end of the 19th century, the market expanded to its present size(about 180 stalls) in 1920s, Asian, African and west Indian moved in			
					Off Kingsland high street, between Kingsland high street and St. Marks' rise, Ridley Rd, Dalton, E8			
				Dalston cross shopping centre, local retails, cosmopolitan(West Indian and Asian)Turks, Jews, Asians, cockneys, Africans and Afro-Caribbeans				
				Exotic food stuff (Asian, African, Carribean and Mediterranean food stuff(Kosher food				

## Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
						1983 (Perlmutter)	1983 (A. Forshaw)	1987
						1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow	1989 (1983)	1999 (antique)
						2002 (1996)	2004	2008
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)			
				Location				
				Surrondings				
				Product				

Hoxton Street	Street market	LB of Hackney	177	Reference		
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-5pm (but lively on Sat))	General market	traders-working class, Local users	Four Criteria	<p>started in Tudor times, in Boot street to the southwest of Hoxton street(but name was Hoxton market) until 1820, after a spell in Pitfield street, it moved to Hoxton street in 1840</p> <p>Hoxton street, from Crondall street to Ivy street, N1</p> <p>Shops, Victorian terraces and postwar council flats(working class)</p> <p>Household goods, fruit and vegetable, new and second hand clothes(mainly food)</p>	
Well Street	Street market	LB of Hackney	74	Reference		
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market	local users	Four Criteria	<p>started in 1850s, Jack Cohen traded (founder of Tesco)</p> <p>Well street, from Morning lane to Valentine Road, Hackney, E9</p> <p></p> <p>Food, household goods, new and old clothes</p>	
Broadway Market	Street market	LB of Hackney, private	100	Reference		
	Casual use (Sat: 9am-5pm)	General market		Four Criteria	<p>started in 1900</p> <p></p> <p></p> <p></p>	
Chatsworth Road	Street market	LB of Hackney	60	Reference		
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-4pm)	General market		Four Criteria	<p>started in 1870s</p> <p>Chatsworth Road, between Clifden Road and Rushmore road, Clapton, E5</p> <p></p> <p>Fruit and vegetable, and household goods and clothes</p>	

## CITY OF WESTMINSTER (13)

Pimlico farmers' market	Street market	private, London farmers' market	43	Reference			
							●
	Casual use (Sun: 9am-1pm)	farmers' market	local users	Four Criteria	Started in 2002		
Ccorner of Pimlico Road and Ebury Street, SW1							
convenient for residents of Pimlico, Belgravia, Chelsea and Battersea							
Marylebone farmers' market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market		reference			

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
		Casual use (Sun: 10am-2pm)	farmers' market	local users	R			•
					Four Criteria	started in 2003 Cramer Street Car park, Just off Marylebone High Street, W1 Centrally located, and surrounded by many individual shops, cafes and restaurants		
	Charing Cross collectors fair	borrowed space	Private (Charing Cross market)		Reference			•
		Casual use (Sat: 8.30am-1pm)	specialist market		Four Criteria	Price Waterhouse underground car park, beneath Charing cross arches Arches shopping centre Collecting stuff, and antiques		
	The Courtyard, St Martin's	borrowed space	Private	30	Reference			
		daily use (Mon-Sun: 10am-6pm)	specialist market	traders- ethnic, exotic people	Four Criteria	Started in the late 1980s Off Trafalgar square, Courtyard of St Martin-in-the-fields church, WC2 Arts and Crafts, novelty goods, antique, and secondhand books		
	Church Street	Street market	City of Westminster	220	Reference			•
		daily use (Tue-Sat:9am)	General market		Four Criteria	Decenent of Portman market established in 1830 to 1833, From Edgeware Road to Sainsbury Street both sides of the street have been rebuilt over the last thirty years of modern shops and high blocks of flat, the 'other' Church street lined with 19th century buildings Church street, NW8, W2, between Edgeware Rd and Lisson St, Western end of Bell street, from Edge road to Lisson street, NW1 Alfie's Antique market 3. council flats/flats of St. John's wood - difference of two character Antique, household goods, and foodstuff (fruit and veg, meat and fish)		
	Piccadilly Market (Green park)	Street market	City of Westminster	30-50	Reference			•
		Casual use (Sun: 9.30am-4pm)	specialist market	traders can be found at the other, similar venues on different days of the week	Four Criteria	started in early 1980s, the market is patronised by people who work in the art galleries and offices around Mayfair but mainly seeks to attract tourists sightseeing along Piccadilly St. James's church yard, Piccadilly and between Hyde park corner and Queen's Walk, W1 Arts and crafts, bric-a-brac and antique		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)	Location	Surroundings	Product
Strutton Ground	Street market	City of Westminster	23	Reference		•		
					•	•	•	
					•	•		
					•	•		
Tachbrook Street	Street market	City of Westminster	21	Reference		•		
					•	•	•	
					•	•		
					•	•		
Rupert Street	Street market	City of Westminster	31	Reference		•		
					•	•	•	
					•	•		
					•	•		
Berwick Street	Street market	City of Westminster	39	Reference		•		
					•	•	•	
					•	•		
					•	•		
Bayswater Road Market	Street market	City of Westminster		Reference		•		
					•	•	•	
					•	•		
					•	•		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
					Refer		•	
						•	•	•
		Casual use (Suns: 9.30am-4pm)	specialist market		Four Criteria	50 years south side of Bayswater road from Albion Gate to Queensway) Bayswater road, (Clarendon place to Queensway), W2 Kensington, gardens, near Queensway market Paintings, sketches and arts		
	The Arches - CLOSED	Street market			Reference		•	
		daily use (Mon-Sat)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	Off Villiers Street, WC2  Bric-a-brac, Collections- coins, medals, books, stamps, model cars and trains, militaria, records		
	Covent Garden	Covered outdoor market	Private	230	Reference		•	•
		Daily use (Everyday:10am-6pm)	Specialist market + food market	lunchtime office workers, traders- Craftworker from Nottingham	Four Criteria	Inigo Jones-design houses in the Italian style in 1631, recognized, officially, fruit and vegetables wholesale market in 1670, Jubilee hall in 1904, relocation of market and the shell of the main market building has been kept intact in 1974, reopen, became larger and more disorderly to the pavement of square in 1980 Covent Garden(Apple market-the Market/Jubilee market-Jubilee hall), WC2 Clothes shop, bar, restaurant, gift stores, Opera house, Transport museum, tourist area Jubilee market: antiques, secondhand goods, bric-a-brac(Mon) General stuff, clothes (Tues to Fri), Arts and Crafts(Sat to Sun), Apple market: crafts, clothes, novelty goods street entertainers and buskers		
	Queensway market	indoor market	Private		Reference			•
		daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-10pm)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	23 and 25 Queensway  Computer equipment, and old books computer software		
	Gray antiques	indoor market	Private (the firm Antiques Hypermarket)	200	Reference		•	•
		daily use (Mon-Fri: 10am-6pm)	Specialist market	European and American	Four Criteria	Davies street and Davies Mews, W1  Antique		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		

## ROYAL BOROUGH OF GREENWICH (5)

Plumstead Road	Street market	RB of Greenwich	18 (decreasing from 120 in 1980s)	Reference			
					•		•
					•		
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	started in the mid of 13th century, the suggestion to build on the same site or restore to any other ground in 1807, in the High street and Market hill until 19th century, unofficial stalls were trading Bedford square for workers in 1850s, new was established in market street in 1808, Plumstead road established in 1932 Off Plumstead road, Bereford square, SE18 Shopping area, and council houses Food stuff (fish), fruit and vegetable, household goods and general stuff		
Woolwich Market	uncovered outdoor market	RB of Greenwich	52 (deceased from 100 in 1980s)	Reference			
						•	
						•	
	daily use (Tues-Sat: 8.30am-5pm, half-day closing Thurs)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	Market hill in Middle Ages, Royal dockland expansion and gactory, housing-move from Market Hill to the square Bereford square, Woolwich, SE18 Retails Fruit and vegetable, fish, meat, clothes, and flowers		
Greenwich Antique Market	uncovered outdoor market	Private, Frank Tipier	50	Reference			
					•		•
					•		•
	Casual use (Sat-Sun: 9am-5pm (half-clock on a Saturday)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	Off Greenwich high road, between junctions with Stockwell street and Royal hill, SE10 England's gretest architects of the 17th and 18th centuries-Indigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor-classical and Baroque buildings, Museums and antique hall (Stockwell road), near millemmium dome and cutty sark Bric-a-brac, and antique (Sun- secondhand clothes)		
Greenwich Central Market	Covered outdoor market	Private, Urban space management	70	Reference			
					•		•
					•	•	•
	Dailt use (Mon-Sun: 9.30am-5.30pm)	Specialist market + food market		Four Criteria	started in 1737, market buildings in 1831, wholesale fruit and veg market plus a clutch of stalls off Trafalgar road before 1980s Off College Approach, Stockwell Street, Greenwich church street, Thames street, SE10 England's gretest architects of the 17th and 18th centuries-Indigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor-classical and Baroque buildings, Museums and antique hall (Stockwell road), near millemmium dome, cutty sark Fruit and vegetable, arts and crafts, book, food / organic food (Sat only), a huge penumbra flea market(Sun only)		
Greenwich Craft Market	uncovered outdoor market	Private, Urban space management	160	Reference		•	•



# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
		Casual use (Sat-Sun: 9am-5pm)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	Craft market occupied the site in 1980s Off College Approach, Stockwell Street, Greenwich church street, Thames street, SE10 England's gretest architects of the 17th and 18th centuries-Indigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor-classical and Baroque buildings, Museums and antique hall (Stockwell road), near millemmium dome, cuty sark Crafts		
	LONDON BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK (11)							
	Peckham farmers' market	Street market	private, London farmers' market		Reference			
		Casual use (Sun: 9.30am-1.30pm)	farmers' market		Four Criteria	Farmers' market in 2000 Peckham Square, Peckham High Street, SE15  Organic foodstuff from near London areas		
East Street	Street market	LB of Southwark	244	Reference				
	daily use (Tue-Sat: 9am-5pm, Sun: 8am-2pm)	General market	Local users, ethnic people	Four Criteria	Tram-rails forced traders off in 1880, market moved to its present site in 1889, busiest times was Saturday night (a week wage) until 1939 East street, from Walworth road to Dawes street, Walworth, SE17 Shops open on market days/working-class area, and housing estate General stuff , fruit and vegetable, exotic food (African), household goods and Sun-plants, flower(Blackwood street)			
Bermondsey Market(new Caledonian Market)	Street market	LB of Southwark	364	Reference				
	Casual use (Fri: 6am-2pm)	Specialist market	middle class people	Four Criteria	Ssuccessor to the popular Caledonian road market with 2500 stalls on land flattened by bombs in 1949, Caledonian market from a cattle marketm to a junk market on Fridays in 1855, old Caledonian market moved to square-mile area on Copenhagen Field, Islington before the second world war, bric-a-brac and antique in 1920s-1930s, move to Bermondsey square in 1949 Bermondsey Square, Abby street, Bermondsey street and Tower Bridge road, SE1 Victorian buildings, a few grim morden flats Antique, paintings, and fine arts			
Choumert Road, Rye Lane	Street market	LB of Southwark	45	Reference				
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-5pm)	General market	local users, ethnic people	Four Criteria	Rye lane indoor market - main market, traders moved from the old Rye lane street market in 1931, bombed in the war but soon rebuilt, indoor market halls over 100 years, recently the change to international food, a major refurbishment in 2000 Choumert road, between Rye lane and Choumert Grove, SE15; Rye lane indoor market, 48 Rye lane, SE15 A fine variety of shops, not oberwhelmed by chainstires, multicultural area with large Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities Exotic food stuff (Afro-Caribbean). and clothes and household goods and general stuff			

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
	Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)	Location	Surroundings	Product
Westmoreland Road	Street market	LB of Southwark	66	Reference				
	Daily use (Tues, Wed, Fri and Sat: 9am-4pm, Thurs: 9am-2pm)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	started in 1914 Westmoreland road, from walworth to Queens' Row, SE17 Shops and council flats Fruit and vegetables, food stuff (fish and poultry), household goods (weekday), and bric-a-brac, antiques, secondhand junk(Sunday)			
Southwark Park Road	Street market	Private	48	Reference				
	Daily use (Mon-Sat: 8am-4pm (Thurs morning))	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	The largest market in south London at Blue anchor lane before the war, relocated in a new shopping precinct on the north side of Southwark park road in 1976 Market place, off Southwark park road between Blue Anchor lane and St. James' road, SE16 Modern complex shops, big shops, library, surgeries Food stuff, clothes, household goods, flowers, plants, and stationery			
Tower Bridge Road	Street market	LB of Southwark	30	Reference				
	Daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	started in 1931, it was closed in 2011 Southwark, SE1 Fruit, vegetables and household goods			
South Bank Market (Riverside Walk)	Street market	LB of Southwark		Reference				
	Casual use (Sat-Sun: midday-7pm)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	Riverside walk, National film theatre, SE1 Cultural facilities, the Thames Secondhand books and prints			
London Bridge - CLOSED	Street market		4	Reference				
	Casual use (Sat: 10am-4.30pm, decreasing from daily use)		Local office workers	Four Criteria	Railway approach, London bridge station, southwark, SE1 Fruit and vegetables, flower, women's clothes			
Elephant and Castle	Street market	LB of Southwark+ private (urban space management)	30	Reference				

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
		Daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-5pm)	General market		Four Criteria	forced off by redevelopment in 2009 Outside Elephant and castle shopping centre, SE1  Clothes, electric goods, cosmetics, rugs, sportswears, CDs and Caribbean food		
	Gabriel's wharf	Uncovered outdoor market	Community		Reference			
		Daily use (Tue-Sun: 11am-6pm)	Specialist market		Four Criteria	started in 1988 Upper ground, Waterloo, Southwark Oxo tower and Television centre Office block, shops, leisure areas and restaurants Bric-a-brac, and craft (Weekend)		
	Camberwell - CLOSED	Street market			Reference			
		daily use (Tue, Thurs, Fri, Sat: 7am-7pm)	General market		Four Criteria	Ratcliff Yard, 346 Camberwell New road, SE5  Caribbean food, bric-a-brac and secondhand clothes		
	Borough market	Covered outdoor market	Community (Borough Market Trust)		Reference			
		Daily use (Mon-Fri: 4am-8am (food market - Fri: 10am-4pm, Sat: 12am-5pm))	Wholesale market+ food market	local users, office workers	Four Criteria	started in Middle Ages, as a wholesale market in 1756, covered structure in 1851, redevelopment, with a Food Lovers' Fair in 1998, Railtrack extension which will involve destroying several buildings around the market Off borough high street, southwark street, SE1 Under the railway (London bridge station), Tate modern, the Globe theatre, the millenium bridge and city hall Fruit and vegetable, wholesale Grain and fish, Sat- food market		
LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM (7)								
	Blackheath farmers' market	borrowed space	Private, London farmers' market		Reference			
		Casual use	Farmers' market		Four Criteria	started in 2000 Railway station car park, Blackheath Village, SE3   		
	Douglas way	Street market	LB of Lewisham	25	Reference			
		Casual use	General market	local users (working class)		started in 1921, stalls of Deptford high street moved from Edward street because of traffic congestion		

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
	Deptford High Street	Street market	LB of Lewisham	250	Reference	From Deptford high street to Idonia street, Douglas way, SE8 Local retails, near Deptford high street market General new and second-hand goods, fruit and vegetables, Watson's street: bric-a-brac, Watson's street and Mornington road: second-hand goods		
		Casual use (Wed and Fri: 8.30am-5pm, Sat: 8.30am-6pm)	General market	traders (white, but Afro-Caribbean), local users (working class)	Four Criteria	officially recorded in 1893, with Douglas square flea market-Wed, Sat (Weds, Fri-Sat: 8am-7pm) High Street, from Deptford Broadway to the railway bridge, SE8 Local retails, near Douglas way market Food, fish, household goods, general stuff, and second-hand books		
	Lewisham High Street	Street market	LB of Lewisham	57 (Sun), 64	Reference			
		Daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-5.30pm, Craft market-Mon: 7am-2pm)	General market	local users	Four Criteria	High Street market was moved to a side street in 1919, discontinued in 1925-1926, unlicensed traders in 1930s, attempt clean them up, protest, designation site in 1934, during the war, bombed, and redeveloped for a new covered shopping precinct, recently, pedestrianized Lewisham high street, Craft market in Riverdale Hall, rennell street, off high street, SE13 Riverdale shopping complex (Lewisham shopping centre and chainstores) Fruit, vegetable, and general stuff (craft (Mon))		
	Catford	Street market	LB of Lewisham	30	Reference			
		daily use (Mons, Thur-Sat)	General market		Four Criteria	officially recorded in 1929, halted after World war two, reopened in 1976 Catford Broadway between Rushey Green and Catford Road, and Winslade Way, SE6 Station, shopping centre and Broadway theatre Fruit, vegetables, and household goods		
	Grove park	Street market	LB of Lewisham	25	Reference			
		Casual use (Fri: 9am-3pm)	General market	local users	Four Criteria	Baring Hall hotel car park, Downham Way, Baring road, SE12 Shopping area of Lewisham, and council houses Clothes, fruit, vegetables, confectionery, jewellery, shoes and household goods		
	Catford Broadway	Street market	LB of Lewisham	35	Reference			

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
	Daily use (Mon, Thurs-Sat: 9am-5.30pm)	General market		Four Criteria	started in 1880s, Lewisham Borough council moved the stalls into Springfield park Crescent and renamed it Catford Broadway in 1929, market fizzled out after the war, a new shopping arcade, Winslade Way in 1950s, revived the market in the Broadway in 1976 Catford broadway, SE6  Household goods, clothes, flowers and food, fish and Afro-Caribbean ingrediants			
LONDON BOROUGH OF LAMBETH (2)								
Lower Marsh and The Cut	Street market	LB of Lambeth	25 (declining)	Reference		•	•	•
					•	•	•	
	daily use (Mon-Fri: 10.30am-2.30pm)	General market	Local office workers, local users (working class)	Four Criteria	Victorian local market for working class in the 19th century, undeveloped, a road was cut from Westminster to Blackfriars Bridge-the New Cut, trading in 1845, temporal remova in the mid of 19th century, thriving in the end of 19th century, renamed the cut/after the war- contracted into Lower Marsh in 1936, down-sized by GLC in 1980s Lower marsh, from Westminster Bridge road to Baylis road, SE1 Shops and council housing Fruit, vegitable, household goods, second-hand clothes and books, and bric-a-brac			
Brixton market	Street market	LB of Lambeth	138 (decreased from 300 in 1980s)	Reference		•	•	•
					•	•	•	•
	daily use (Mon-Sat)	General market	Local users, visitors from all in London, and ethnic people	Four Criteria	Atlantic road in late 1870s, petition for trade(extension to Brixton hill, Electric Avenue)-arcades and canopy in in 1881, move to Pope's road and Brixton station road, but still original place is a center in 1921, Afro-Caribbeans were invited to work in Britain to help solve the post-war labour shortage and began to settle in in 1948, West Indian in 1960s, Electric Avenue in 1880s, he first occupation in Pop's road in 1950s, Brixton station road in the 1920s, market row dated since 1930s Brixton station road, Electric avenue and Electric road, Market row,Pop's road, Reliance arcade, Brixton village , SW9 London's funkiest, with new bars, trendy restaurants and equally modish clubs Second hand clothes, bric-a-brac, exotic fruit and vegetable and foodstuff			
LONDON BOROUGH OF WANDSWORTH (11)								
Wandsworth farmers' market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market		Reference				
					•			•
	Casual use (Sat: 9am-1pm)	Farmers' market		Four Criteria	Spread Eagle pub car park, on the corner of Wandsworth high street and Garratt lane, SW8  Organic foodstuff from area around London			
Clapham farmers' market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market		Reference				
					•			•

## Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931	1936 (1974)	1974 (antique)
						1983 (Perlmutter)	1983 (A. Forshaw)	1987
						1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow	1989 (1983)	1999 (antique)
						2002 (1996)	2004	2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market)		
						Location		
						Surroundings		
						Product		
		Casual use (Sun: 10am-2pm)	Farmers' market		Four Criteria	Bonneville Primary School, Bonneville Gardens SW4		
						Organic foodstuff from area around London		
Nine elms	borrowed space	private (NCGM)	150	Reference				
	Casual use (Sun: 9am-2pm)	General market	traders selling new goods,and car booters	Four Criteria	the government considering selling the site off to the private developers - regeneration in 2011			
					Open space for loading, New Covent garden market, Nine elms lane, SW8			
					Railway sidings, the famous disused Battersea Power Station and Battersea Dogs Home			
					General stuff, fruit and vegetable, meat, secondhand books, bric-a-brac, and junk			
Clapham Junction	Street market	Private		Reference				
	Casual use (Fri-Sat: 9am-5pm)	General market	Local users (working class)	Four Criteria	North side of St John's hill, Clapham, SW11			
					High unemployment and a large immigrant community			
Battersea High Street	Street market	LB of Wandsworth	12	Reference				
	Casual use (Fri-Sat: 9.30am-4.30pm)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	since Victorian heyday			
					South end of Battersea, high street, between Battersea Park Road and Simpson street, SW11			
					Retail, scruffy residential area, recent arrival of a trendy bar and a new deli			
					Fruit, vegetable, household goods and clothes(greengrocery/fish, meat)			
Hildreth Street	Street market	LB of Wandsworth	30	Reference				
	daily use (Mon-Wed, Fri, Sat: 9.30am-5pm, Thurs: 9.30am-1pm)	General market	Local users, ethnic people	Four Criteria	started in 1880s, for trams, moved to Hildreth Street since 1903, indoor market opened the opposite road of the market in 1920s, Balham continental market(building opposite Hildreth street on Bedford hill) closed in 1995			
					Hildreth street, between Balham high road and Bedford hill, Balham, SW12			
					Shops and chains, four-story gabled red terraces, Afro-Caribbean community			
					Fruit and vegetable(exotic), household goods			
Northcote Road	Street market	LB of Wandsworth	20	Reference				
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-5pm/Antiques markets: Mon	General market	Local usres (working class and middle class)	Criteria	Afro-Caribbean elements, multi-cultural, multi product experience in 1960s, General market: 1880s- trading around the railway station, costermongers on Falcon Rd, avender hill, St John's road and Northcoat Rd and local shops in 1890s, taders evicted from St John's road in 1910, recently, slick shops, Antiques markets started in 1986			



# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
		Sat: 10am-6pm, Sun: 12-5pm)			Four Crit	Antiques markets(155a Northcote road), /Antiques markets(155a Northcote road), Luxury food shops, cheap the fry-up cafes, new Covent Garden market, semi-gentrified districts in the 1980s Fruit, vegetable, household goods, exotic food stuff (fish, meat)-Asian, Turkish, Greek, Italian and West Indian delicacies, and antiques		
	Putney Flea Market	Street market	Private		Reference			
						•	•	
							•	
		Casual use (Fri-Sat)	Flea market		Four Criteria	started in 1980 Putney hill, SW15  Bric-a-brac and second-hand clothes		
	Putney	Street market	Private	50	Reference			
						•		
	Casual use (Fri-Sat)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	High street, Putney, SW15  Clothes, fruit and vegetables and jewellery			
Tooting	Covered outdoor market	Private	50	Reference				
					•	•	•	
	daily use (Mon, Tues and Thurs- Sat: 9am-5pm, Wed: 9am-1pm)	General market	Local users	Four Criteria	started in 1930s Upper tooting road, tooting market(Totterdown street), Broadway market(Longmead road), SW17 Terraced houses, mixed-community: Afro-Caribbean, Irish, South Asian and English Fruit and vegetable, clothing,books,food stuff(meat and fish) and exotic food stuff(Afro-Caribbean), and household goods			
New Covent Garden flower market	indoor market	City of London		Reference				
					•	•	•	
						•		
							•	
	daily use (Mon-Fri: 3am-11am Sats: 4am-10am)	Wholesale market		Four Criteria	Relocated from Covent garden in 1974 Nine elms lane, SW8 Railway sidings, the famous disused Battersea Power Station and Battersea Dogs Home Flower			
LONDON BOROUGH OF HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM (5)								
North End Road	Street market	LB of Hammersmith and Fullham	54	Reference				
					•	•	•	
					•	•	•	
					•	•	•	

# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		

	daily use (Mon, Tues and Thurs-Sat: 9am-5pm, Wed: 9am-12.30pm)	General market	Local users (working class)	Four Criteria	in Jerdan Place until 1877, extended up North End road, stallholders off from King's Rd by shopkeepers, traders moved from Walham green in 1880s, London County Council (L.C.C.) and Ministry of Transport tried to move market to Seagrave Rd, but failed by the protest of holders and shopkeepers in 1934, gentrification for residence during in Fulham area in 1970s and 1980s, Loss of Crowthers market for second-hand and collectable things East side of North End Rd, south Lillie Road to Vanton Place, Fulham, SW6 Local retails, shops, flats and Victorian houses Fruit and vegetables, exotic fruit and food, clothes, fish, general stuff / Wed-Sun: antiques, crafts, secondhand clothes		
Hammersmith	Street market	Private	12	Reference		•	
	Daily use (Mon-Sat: 9am-6pm)	General market		Four Criteria	Tramway, moved to Bradmore Lane in the 19th century, Bradmore Lane was redeveloped(department store with car park), moved to Beadon Road in 1972, moved to Hammersmith Grove by the protest of stallholders in 1978 South end of Hammersmith Grove between King street and Beadon road, Hammersmith, W6 Shopping centre Fruit and vegetables, fish, dried fruits		
Earl's court	Street market	Private		Reference		•	•
	Casual use (Suns morning)	General market	Arab men and women	Four Criteria	Lillie road, Earl's court, SW6 general household goods, cheap women's clothes, fabric materials		
Shepherd's bush	Street market	Private (TfL), New Shepherd's bush (Shepherds Bush Market Enterprise (SBME))	170	Reference		•	•
	daily use (Tues, Wed, Fri and Sat: 8.30am-6pm, Thurs: 8.30am-1.30pm)	General market	ethnic people	Four Criteria	started in 1914, badly bombed and resumed after the World War, closed and redeveloped in 1969, improvement by the association of town centre management (ACTM), forced off to Uxbridge Road and Goldhawk Road, new Shepherd Bush market in 2009 East side of railway viaduct between Uxbridge road and Goldhawk road, W12 Shops in railway arches Fruit and vegetables (exotic -Caribbean), clothes and household goods, and fish		

## ROYAL BOROUGH OF KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA (5)

Nottinghill Gate farmers' market	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market		Reference		•	•
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# Appendix 5-1 / TYPOLOGY OF LONDON'S MARKET INNER LONDON ONLY

LEGEND	Market name	Types	Management bodies	Number of stalls	Reference	1931 1983 (Perlmutter) 1987(D.Shipley&M.Peplow 2002 (1996)	1936 (1974) 1983 (A. Forshaw) 1989 (1983) 2004	1974 (antique) 1987 1999 (antique) 2008
		Time of operation	Types of produce and products	Users	Four Criteria	History (Forshaw & Bergstrom, 1983; Harris, 2004; London farmers' market) Location Surroundings Product		
Kensington farmers' market	Casual use (Sat: 9am-1pm)	Farmers' market			Four Criteria	started in 1999 Car park off Kensington place, on the corner of Kensington Church street, Car park behind Waterstones, access via Kensington Place, junction of Kensington Church Street, W8 Organic foodstuff from area around London		
	borrowed space	private, London farmers' market			Reference			
Portobello Road	Casual use (Tues: 10am-2pm)	Farmers' market			Four Criteria	started in 2007 Odeon cinema, Kensington high street, W8 Organic foodstuff from around London		
	Street market	RB of Kensington and Chelsea	240		Reference			
Golborne Road	daily use (Mon-Wed, Fri: 8am-6.30pm, Thur: 8am-1pm, antique (Sat: 6am-4.30pm), increased from casual use)	General market	Ethnic people		Four Criteria	originally Saturdays in late 1860s or early 1870s, battle between the council and street traders who continued to use the road during the week despite protests from local shopkeepers in 1920, London County Council Act, powers to councils to offer licenses, daily market to license holders (Mon-Fri: 8am-8pm, Sat: 8am-9pm) in 1927, traders in antiques because of the temporary closure of Caledonian Antique market in 1948 since the last, antique dealers in 1960s Portobello road, between Westbourne Grove and Chepstow villas, W11 Retail for antique, café, small shops, pubs and restaurants/large shops, residential estate - Beautiful rows of white stucco houses, Victorian terraces, bi-lingual spanish school, Asian, West Indian and African people-local population Antique market, food market, clothes and Bric-a-brac market, Auction(Sat: 8.30am-midday) Clothes and second hand record		
	Street market	RB of Kensington and Chelsea	30		Reference			
King's Road Antiques (Chelsea Antiques Market)	Casual use (Sat: 6am-4.30pm)	General market			Four Criteria	slowly following suit to Portobello road moving up-market, with a host of trendy new shops and cafes replacing the gloom of earlier dereliction Landbroke Grove Local shops and cafes, near Portobello Road Market Fruit and vegetable, general food, (Fri and Sat) second hand and bric-a-brac		
	indoor market	Private			Reference			
	daily use (Mon-Sat: 10am-6pm)	Specialist market			Four Criteria	started in the end of 19th century, forced off by local shopkeepers and went to North End road, boutiques since 1960s, recently, but two of three antique markets closed Antiquarius, 131-41 King's road, SW3 Boutiques and High street chains Antiques, clothes, and arts		